

THE ARCHITECTURE OF NIKOLAI L'VOV : A STUDY
OF THE ARCHITECTURAL RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN BRITAIN AND RUSSIA AT THE END OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Alexei Vasilievich Makhrov

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BRITAIN AND RUSSIA AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In II volumes. Volume I: Text

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ABSTRACT

The thesis offers a reassessment of the works of the Russian architect Nikolai Alexandrovich L'vov (1751-1803). His designs are examined in the context of European architecture. Sources of inspiration for his advanced Neo-Classical style are found in monuments of Greek and Roman antiquity, Renaissance architecture and works of British, French and Italian architects, such as Charles Cameron, Adam Menelaws, Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot and Giacomo Quarenghi. The comparative analysis of L'vov's works with designs of his Russian and foreign contemporaries, for instance Matvei Kazakov, Adrean Zakharov, John Soane, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and others, highlights the innovative character of L'vov's designs.

The investigation of the works produced by L'vov for Catherine the Great, Paul I and the powerful statesman Alexander Bezborodko demonstrates that the architect was entrusted to express political concepts, such as the 'Greek Project', Catherine's plan to liberate Constantinople from the Turks. It is argued that his public buildings and garden scenery of the park of Bezborodko in Moscow were designed as propaganda tools to influence people.

The discussion focuses on the consideration of L'vov's interpretation of the ideas derived from European architecture. For example, L'vov was the first Russian architect to declare himself a follower of Palladio. The pioneering study of the Medieval architecture of Moscow produced by L'vov was parallel to the development of the preservationist attitude to national heritage in Britain. He

produced ingenious engineering ideas, such as that of the double-shelled dome influenced by the examples of antique and French architecture and adapted to the requirements of Russian climate. He also introduced to Russia the modernised method of building from earth, derived from a French source and modified with the assistance of his Scottish associates. By analysing the relationships between the architecture of L'vov and that of Britain and other European countries, this study seeks to establish his reputation as one of the outstanding European architects of the late eighteenth century.

I, Alexei Vasilievich Makhrov, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately ninety three thousand and eight hundred words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis offers a new assessment of the works attributed to the Russian architect Nikolai Aleksandrovich L'vov (1751 - 1803).

L'vov was active as an architect during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. He produced designs for ecclesiastical, public and private buildings as well as gardens for St. Petersburg, Moscow, Torzhok, a city situated halfway between the two capitals some one hundred miles from Moscow, and other areas of the Russian Empire. His major works are examples of the advanced Neo-Classical style, based on antique and Palladian sources. L'vov also contributed to the evolution of the theory of architecture and gardening in Russia. It was he who published the first Russian translation of Palladio's treatise on architecture in 1798.¹ The introduction and footnotes to this volume written by L'vov as well as his essay accompanying the designs for the park of Prince Alexander Bezborodko in Moscow represent him as an original theoretician of architectural and garden design. His essay on the antiquities of Moscow was a pioneering study of the Medieval Russian architecture, while his project for the reconstruction of the Kremlin Palace was the initial step in the development of the preservationist attitude to the national architectural heritage. L'vov also introduced into Russian architecture new types of engineering and building techniques. One of his major projects involved developing and disseminating throughout the Empire the

¹ Chetyre knigi Palladiovoi arkhitektury. (The Four Books of Palladio's Architecture). vol. I, Sankt - Peterburg, 1798. Although L'vov intended to publish all four books, only the first book appeared in print.

method of earth construction, which made it possible to build cheaply and effectively in the areas with a shortage of wood.

This study investigates L'vov's designs within the context of both Russian and European architecture. The comparative analysis of L'vov's works and those of British architects is the central theme of the thesis. It is argued that L'vov's interpretation of such concepts as Neo-Classicism, Palladianism, the Picturesque and others was influenced by the ideas elaborated in Britain. Further, the co-operation between L'vov and Scottish architects, such as Charles Cameron and Adam Menelaws, was essential for the development of L'vov's style and implementation of his projects. However, various antique, Italian and French sources, which influenced Neo-Classical architects throughout Europe, were also significant for L'vov and their analysis forms an important part of the concept of this thesis.

L'vov pointed out the necessity of close examination of European achievements in architecture, especially those of France, Britain and Italy, and the need of their adaptation in Russia. For example, in the preface to the translation of Palladio, L'vov suggested that Russians ought to learn the art of planning the houses from the French and building techniques from the British, but warned against slavish imitation of foreign models.² One of the purposes of this thesis is to demonstrate how ideas adopted from European architecture were modified by L'vov to suit Russian requirements.

L'vov's wide-ranging activities and large-scale enterprises would have been impossible without patronage of the monarchs, such as Catherine the Great (1762-1796) and Paul I (1796-1801), and the powerful statesman Alexander Bezborodko. In fact, this thesis for the first time examines L'vov's works in their relation to the conditions set by his patrons. For example, it is demonstrated that his embrace of Neo-Classicism was influenced by the tastes and political ideas of Catherine, while his projects of the end of the century reflected the changes in the state system instituted by Paul.

L'vov's works have been investigated in a number of studies, most importantly in the monograph published by Maria Budylna, Olga Braitseva and Anna Kharlamova in 1961.³ These authors produced a comprehensive survey of L'vov's architecture and uncovered important archival material. However, they ignored the importance of the relationship between L'vov and his clients, that significantly narrowed the scope of the analysis. The study of Budylna et al. is mostly descriptive and it fails to investigate the European background of L'vov's architecture. In contrast, this thesis sets out to consider L'vov as a European architect: in so doing it is possible not only to determine Western influence on his designs, but also to assess his innovative ideas.

² N.A.L'vov. 'Ot izdatelia russkogo Palladia.' Chetyre knigi Palladievoi arkhitektury. op.cit., pp.1-4.

³ M.V.Budylna, O.I.Braitseva, A.M.Kharlamova. Arkhitektori N.A.L'vov. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo literatury po stroitel'stvu, arkhitekture i stroitel'nym materialam, 1961.

The book published by Natalia Nikulina in 1971 concentrates on L'vov's designs for St.Petersburg.⁴ Her account may serve as a useful source of factual information, but provides inadequate critical analysis of the works. For example, Nikulina's study of L'vov's interpretation of Palladio's designs for country villas does not go beyond the facts emphasised by L'vov's himself.⁵ However, she considered neither L'vov's modification of Palladio's rules in the types of buildings which were alien to Palladio, such as the Post Office, nor a combination of influences of Palladio and other sources such as Vignola in the building of the Administrative Offices.

The most recent and ambitious study which investigates the relationships between British and Russian architecture is the volume by Dimitri Shvidkovsky entitled The Empress & The Architect. British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great published in 1996. Shvidkovsky's book focuses on the biography of Cameron and his designs produced for the Empress. In addition, this author linked works of other architects, for instance, the Neo-Gothic buildings of Vasilii Bazhenov and Matvei Kazakov, with British architecture. He also considered the contribution of Menelaws and William Hastie to Russian architecture and mentioned projects which Menelaws undertook in co-operation with L'vov. Such an all-inclusive approach provides one with wealth of information, yet it seems to have impeded in-depth analysis of the works of any architect, considered by Shvidkovsky. For example, the links between Cameron

⁴ N.I.Nikulina. Nikolai L'vov. Lenizdat, 1971.

⁵ Cf. N.A.L'vov. 'Ot izdatelia russkogo Palladia.' op.cit.; N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., p.58. For more details see chapter II of this thesis.

and British Palladians seems to have been underestimated by Shvidkovsky, who chose to limit his examination by indicating only the well-known facts. Indeed, the link between the Palace at Pavlovsk with English Palladian villas and the influence of Isaac Ware and Lord Burlington on Cameron's treatise on the baths of the Romans had been explored by Isabel Rae.⁶ Shvidkovsky indicated only one direct link between Cameron and Palladio, which he found in Cameron's design for the gallery at Tsarskoe Selo possibly based on a sketch by Palladio from the collection of Burlington, which is not illustrated in the book.⁷ In contrast, in this thesis an attempt will be made to further research into the influence of Palladianism on Russian architecture, which is highly relevant to both Cameron and L'vov's works.

Shvidkovsky's approach is similar to encyclopedism of Anthony Cross, the professor of Slavonic Studies at the University of Cambridge, whose publications on various aspects of the relationships between Britain and Russia at the eighteenth century include essays on Cameron and Menelaws.⁸ Anecdotal evidence in the writings of Cross, heavily indebted to the publications produced by Shvidkovsky and other architectural historians, not infrequently obscures his attempts to analyse architectural forms or garden landscapes. On the contrary,

⁶Dimitri Shvidkovsky. The Empress & The Architect. British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996, pp.17-19, 119-126; Isabel Rae. Charles Cameron. Architect to the Court of Russia. London: Elek Books, 1971, pp.79-80, 100-101.

⁷ Dimitri Shvidkovsky. op.cit., pp.64-65.

⁸ The most recent volume produced by Cross is By the Banks of the Neva. Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-Century Russia. Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp.285-308.

this thesis will focus first and foremost on the examination of L'vov's designs, which serves as the basis for building up the argument.

The first chapter concentrates on the consideration of public buildings, designed by L'vov during the reign of Catherine. The chapter will start with the investigation of St.Joseph's Cathedral in Mogilev, Belorussia, one of L'vov's most advanced works. Indeed, in St.Joseph's one finds combined for the first time in one structure the use of rationalistic composition, inspired by Palladio; the use of the Greek Doric order, reflecting the latest European developments; the engineering of an ingenious triple-shelled cupola, based on a French source and adapted to the conditions of the Russian climate; and, finally, the remarkable construction of a dynamic spacial progression from the main entrance in the east end to the altar. L'vov's journey through Italy in 1781 is demonstrated as crucial for producing the designs for St.Joseph's and for evolving his Neo-Classical style. Further, the analysis of L'vov's Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb in Torzhok emphasises the link between L'vov and the works of British Palladians, particularly Cameron, and explores how the synthesis of the traditional Orthodox and Palladian motifs embodied Catherine's political ideas. The symbolism of architectural forms is highlighted in the section devoted to the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God in St.Petersburg, which is identified as an encapsulation of the 'Greek Project', Catherine's strategic plan to liberate Constantinople from the Turks. The first chapter is concluded with the analysis of the sources for L'vov's Neo-Classical style, which are revealed by means of comparative analysis of his designs for public buildings with those produced by John Soane and other architects.

The study of L'vov's style is elaborated in the second chapter dedicated to domestic architecture and in particular to the designs for his own estate of Nikolskoe near Torzhok. The analysis of the house in Nikolskoe reveals how L'vov reinterpreted Palladian ideas, brought to Russia by Cameron and Giacomo Quarenghi. Moreover, a rotunda, a pyramid and structures in the 'primitive' style included in the Picturesque landscape of the estate characterise L'vov as a Neo-Classicist, interested in the investigation of the pure forms, the origins of the art of building and the rules defining harmonious architecture.

The following chapters examine the rapid development of L'vov's architectural activity during the reign of Paul I. L'vov's project for the Kremlin Palace in Moscow is analysed by comparison with the attempts to rebuild the Kremlin by Bazhenov and Kazakov and linked with the emerging interest in the Medieval Russian architecture and the reappraisal of the role of Moscow as the ancient Russian capital. These ideas are further exposed by the analysis of L'vov's essay on the antiquities of Moscow, illustrated by Quarenghi, which was to supply the Tsar with a survey of architecture of the ancient capital accompanied with a geographical description of the city and an overview of old customs and historical events commemorated in the ancient monuments. L'vov's innovative approach to Moscow cityscape is embodied in his idea to integrate the park adjacent to the new residence of Bezborodko into the urban environment. The park is represented as Bezborodko's tribute to Catherine, whose 'Greek Project' was expressed in L'vov's designs by means of a synthesis of architecture, sculpture, theatre and gardening.

The last chapter uncovers the contribution of Menelaws and his fellow Scots David Cunningham and John Cochrane to L'vov's project of developing earth construction and the adaptation of the French building technique of pisé in Russia. The origin of the concept of pisé is studied in relation to metaphysical notions of the eighteenth century and practical usefulness of this material is examined. The Palace of Priorat in Gatchina, constructed from earth, is considered as an expression of the romantic tastes of the Emperor and an embodiment of the architectural style peculiar to the method of earth building. The co-operation between L'vov and Menelaws as well as the introduction of British model farms in Russia are studied in the section devoted to the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture near Pavlovsk in the environs of St.Petersburg. L'vov's project of the dissemination of earth construction in Russia is analysed at the concluding part of the chapter, which also includes the discussion of the relationships between the idea of the introduction of earth buildings throughout the Empire with the concept of the just society, advocated by Rousseau and Alexander Radishchev. The subsequent use by Menelaws and Andrei Shtakenshneider of the designs for earth buildings and the concept of the model villages in the park of Alexandria in Peterhof in the 1820s through to the 1850s is also touched on.

The edited translations of several essential documents, which provide additional information and support the arguments outlined in the main text, are included in the appendixes.

The British standard system of transliteration is adopted in the thesis, unless an alternative has already been established, for instance, Shvidkovsky is used instead of Shvidkovskii. An apostrophe indicates the soft sign in the names, such as L'vov, however it may be omitted in other names, for instance those of geographic locations, such as Nikolskoe, in order to make the sounds more familiar for a British reader. The dates are given according to the old (Julian) calendar. The Russian State Historical Archive in St.Petersburg is abbreviated as RGIA.

CHAPTER I

L'VOV'S PUBLIC BUILDINGS

PART I

THE CATHEDRALS

SECTION I

NEO-CLASSICAL AVANT-GARDE:

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST.JOSEPH, MOGILEV, BELORUSSIA

The Cathedral of St.Joseph's was a masterpiece of Russian Neo-Classical architecture, designed by a person who is not known to have had artistic education. In fact, little is known about the early biography of L'vov. Born in 1751, L'vov spent his childhood in the small family estate Nikolskoe (Cherenchitsy), twenty kilometres south of Torzhok. In 1769, he arrived in St.Petersburg and entered a military school of the prestigious Preobrazhenskii regiment. In 1773, L'vov was appointed a courier in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This job allowed him to visit Hamburg, Copenhagen, Madrid, Paris and, possibly, London. Within a few years he acquired a good command of Italian, French and German languages.⁹

During the stay in Paris from February until May 1777 L'vov, according to a letter of his friend, took a keen interest in the arts.¹⁰ He was accompanied by the

⁹ For a more detailed account of L'vov's biography in the 1770s, see K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Novye dannye k biografii N.A.L'vova'. ('New information on the biography of L'vov'). Russkaia Literatura. (Russian Literature). 1988, N2, pp.135-142.

¹⁰ Letter of Mikhail Muraviev quoted in: N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., p.20.

poet Ivan Khemnitser, whose diary mentions the attractions in Paris which they probably visited together. Thus, Khemnitser described the picture galleries in the Louvre and Luxembourg Palace, the estates outside Paris, such as Versailles and Chantilly, etc. He was particularly impressed by Les Invalides and described it as 'the best church which can be seen'.¹¹ They also visited the Parc du Monceau on the outskirts of Paris laid out by the duc de Chartres in the 1770s. The influence of this journey on L'vov's creative work can only be hypothesized. For instance, it will be argued that in the Parc du Monceau L'vov may have found examples of garden decoration for his own estate Nikolskoe and the park of Bezborodko in Moscow. (See chapter II, part II and chapter III, part II).

The powerful Count Alexander Bezborodko, Catherine the Great's state secretary and one of her chief advisers, was L'vov's most influential patron. It was Bezborodko who recommended the Empress to entrust L'vov with designing the Cathedral of St. Joseph in Mogilev, Belorussia, which was the first and most remarkable L'vov's building. According to a biographer of L'vov, the best architects of St. Petersburg produced designs for the Cathedral, but none of them satisfied the Empress.¹² However, this claim, frequently quoted by the scholars of L'vov's work,¹³ does not have any documentary evidence and no designs are

¹¹ Quoted in: M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.8.

¹² Fiodor L'vov. 'Nikolai Alexandrovich L'vov'. In: N.A.L'vov. Izbrannye sochineniia. (Selected Works). Introduction and commentary by K.Lappo-Danilevskii. Bohlau Verlag Koln Weimar Wien. Puschkinhaus. Instituto Rossica Christiana. 'Acropolis'. St.-Peterburg. 1994, p.367.

¹³ K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'O literaturnom nasledii N.A.L'vova' ('On the Literary Heritage of N.A.L'vov'). In: N.A.L'vov. Izbrannye sochineniia. op.cit., p.11; N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., p.25; A.N.Glumov. N.A.L'vov. Moscow: Iskustvo. 1980, p.38.

known to have been produced for the Cathedral by the architects, who worked in Russia at that time.

The Cathedral was to commemorate the meeting of Catherine the Great and the Austrian Emperor Joseph II. One of the main purposes of Catherine at the negotiations with Joseph was to investigate a possibility of an alliance with Austria.¹⁴ The Cathedral was to be a manifestation of their political union. The monarchs met in Mogilev in May 1780 and before departing for Moscow and St.Petersburg participated in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Cathedral, consecrated to Joseph's patron saint.

L'vov also participated in that ceremony. In September, he was sent by the Empress to Mogilev presumably in order to supervise the preparatory works for the construction of the Cathedral and in December he was again reported to be in Mogilev checking the convenience of the site chosen for the building.¹⁵ In September of 1781, soon after L'vov returned from Italy, Catherine sent him to Mogilev to continue the works on the Cathedral.¹⁶

¹⁴ J.T.Alexander. Catherine the Great. Oxford University Press. 1984, p.242.

¹⁵ K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Novye dannye k biografii N.A.L'vova'. op.cit., p.140; M.V.Budilina et al. op.cit., p.119.

¹⁶ A note of Count Ivan Osterman of 7th of September 1781. K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Novye dannye k biografii N.A.L'vova'. op.cit., p.140.

The designs for the Cathedral are the chief sources for the analysis of St. Joseph's.¹⁷ The building was demolished by the Soviet authorities in 1938 and the documents related to the construction of the Cathedral were destroyed in Mogilev during the World War II.¹⁸

The designs for St. Joseph's manifest L'vov's appearance as an architect and mark a distinctive step in the development of Russian architecture. They comprise a set of five engravings: one of them represents the plan and the others represent the front and side elevations of the Cathedral accompanied by the explanations which clarify the dedication and the advanced architectural ideas embodied in the building. (Plates 1-4)

It is possible to suggest that the designs for St. Joseph's were not completed in 1780, as it was stated by Maria Budylnina in the preface to the monograph on L'vov published in 1961.¹⁹ There may have been an initial version of the designs produced in 1780, mentioned by Bezborodko in his letter to Count Nikita Panin: 'Her Imperial Majesty <...> approved plan, facade, cross-section and design for interior decoration of the church of St. Joseph, composed by a secretary of the

¹⁷ The engraved designs for St. Joseph's are kept in Shchusev Museum of Architecture in Moscow, PI 9308, PIII 2206, PIII 2250-2253, PIII 2985-2986, PIII 3774. Eight water-colour copies from the original designs are kept in the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA) in St. Petersburg. The file containing documents on the acceptance of the church of St. Joseph in Mogilev to the religious ministry of Sinod. Fond 796, opis 80, N332, 1799. The copies were produced by the Belorussian architect Pavlov in 1799.

¹⁸ T.V. Alekseeva. Vladimir Lukich Borovikovskii I russkaia kul'tura na rubezhe 18 - 19 vekov. (Vladimir Lukich Borovikovskii and Russian culture at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.) Moscow: Iskusstvo. 1975, p. 88; M.V. Budilina et.al. op.cit., p. 118.

Collegia of Foreign Affairs L'vov'.²⁰ However, the designs were probably altered after their original version had been approved and the foundation stone had been laid. Such changes to the initial designs were not unusual in the eighteenth century. For example, the concept of the church of Ste.Geneviève in Paris designed by Jaques Soufflot went through many stages of alterations during the period of construction.²¹

Moreover, according to Budylna, Giacomo Quarenghi and Charles Cameron, two leading St.Petersburg architects, could not have influenced L'vov's concept of the Cathedral, because both of them arrived in Russia in 1779.²² However, there are many reasons to refute this statement and to suggest the opposite.

Indeed, there is no evidence that L'vov had artistic training or built anything before 1780. His only documented contribution to the arts was the programme for the reliefs for the Hall of the Governing Senate, executed between 1779 and 1781.²³ Therefore, it does not seem probable that by 1780 L'vov's proficiency in architecture was at the level, which was necessary for the production of the designs as advanced as those for St.Joseph's. In fact, there are no any designs,

¹⁹ M.V.Budilina et.al. op.cit., p.10.

²⁰ The letter of 21st of December 1780. N.Grigorovich. Kantsler Kniaz' Alexandr Andreevich Bezborodko (Chancellor Prince Alexander Andreevich Bezborodko). St.Petersburg: Tipografiia V.C.Balashova, vol.I, 1879, p.74.

²¹ Allan Braham. The Architecture of the French Enlightenment. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980, pp.73-82.

²² M.V.Budilina et.al. op.cit., p.10.

sketches or L'vov's written statements, which could indicate that the concept of the Cathedral was developed before 1781. However, the beginning of the 1780s was the crucial period for the formation of L'vov as an architect. The travel through Italy from May through to July 1781 was significant for his education in the arts. During this journey, L'vov may have become acquainted with the advanced ideas, which he used in the designs for St. Joseph's. L'vov's creative collaboration with both Quarenghi and Cameron should also be taken into consideration in order to explain the progressive character of his designs.

The plan of St. Joseph's consisted of a composition of basic geometric forms: a square with the addition of a semicircular apse on the east end and a rectangular block on the west. (Plate 5) The sparse decoration of the exterior was limited to three Doric porticoes and minimal surface ornament. The nave was lined with Ionic columns, while the Corinthian order was used in the apse in the free standing rotunda containing the altar. According to the requirements of the Russian Orthodox service, the apse was separated from the rest of the church by a screen, called the iconostasis. The dome consisted of two shells, the inner one having an oculus and arched apertures in the sides, which opened up into the sacred images that decorated the inside of the outer dome. In contrast to the white exterior walls, columns and roof, the interior of the building was decorated with artificial marble of various colours. For example, the walls were yellow with silver-grey veins and the columns were red. The iconostasis and the altar were

²³ The reliefs, produced by the French sculptor Jean-Dominique Rachett, were destroyed during the rebuilding of the Senate in 1829-1834. See: Jesse V. Clardy. G.R. Derzhavin. A Political Biography. Monlton, The Hague, Paris. 1967, p.81.

faced with red, green, blue and white stucco, the cupola was painted in white, grey and blue.²⁴ The Cathedral and two outbuildings connected by a semicircular fence formed a square in the main street of the city.²⁵ (Plates 6, 7)

The Cathedral, as it was built, differed from the original designs. The structure of the cupola was changed by adding the third shell, which probably served as a protection against leaks. (Plates 8, 9)²⁶ This significant change to the original design should be attributed to Adam Menelaws (1753-1831), a native Scot who arrived in Russia in 1784 to work as a master stonemason and vaulting master.²⁷ Menelaws was entrusted to work as an architect in the construction of St. Joseph's in 1788. By 1797, the cupola revealed serious damage caused by the leaks,²⁸ that probably resulted in the decision to add the third shell to it. Such an arrangement of three shells was also used by Menelaws in the small cupolas of the Cathedral of Sts. Boris and Gleb in Torzhok, that will be discussed in the section II of this chapter. Menelaws completed St. Joseph's in 1798. However, his architectural practice in Mogilev was not limited to the construction of the Cathedral: he also

²⁴ See Pavlov's water-colours and description of the building in: RGIA, Fond 796, opis 80, N332, 1799.

²⁵ The watercolour in the illustration together with two other views of Mogilev were produced by an unknown amateur artist in the late eighteenth century and is kept in the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg, Department of drawing, N1233. Distorted proportions of the buildings make the sheet an unreliable source for the analysis of the architecture of the Cathedral.

²⁶ The designs in the illustration were produced in 1905 for a report on a proposed addition to the altar of the Cathedral. In the attached notice on the history of the Cathedral, there is no mention of any changes to the cupola, since it had been completed. The Archive of Manuscripts of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, St. Petersburg, Fond 1, 1905, N36.

²⁷ A.G. Cross. 'Cameron's Scottish Workmen.' Scottish Slavonic Review, N10, 1988, p.71.

²⁸ T.V. Alekseeva. op.cit., p.88.

produced designs for public schools.²⁹ These facts should be sufficient to suggest that Menelaws was not merely a supervisor of works, as it has been suggested by Alexander Andreev,³⁰ but acted as an architect.

The architecture of L'vov is usually considered Palladian. Recently, William C. Brumfield has argued that St. Joseph's was 'firmly in the manner of L'vov's idol Palladio, whom he studied with great care and whose work he saw in situ in Italy'.³¹ However, Brumfield seems to have equated Palladio with Palladianism. It is essential to consider whether the Palladian features in St. Joseph's were directly inspired by the designs of Palladio, or influenced by some other source.

St. Joseph's was indeed a building to a large extent inspired by the ideas introduced or elaborated by Palladio. For example, the villa Almerico (Rotonda) near Vicenza features the symmetry of the plan and the facade, restrained decoration and such motifs, as the low cupola and rectangular windows. Circular openings were used in the roof of the Basilica in Vicenza, while the 'thermal' windows, placed by L'vov in the pediments of the side porticoes, were often used by Palladio, for instance, in the church of the Redentore in Venice. The system of proportions of St. Joseph's also seems to be similar to that elaborated by Palladio. Thus, the harmonic ratios, such as 1:1, 1:2, 2:3, which, as shown by Rudolf

²⁹ A letter of Menelaws to L'vov of 2nd of February 1803. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N112, p.25, reverse.

³⁰ A.K. Andreev. 'Adam Menelaws'. Problemy sinteza iskusstv i arkhitektury. (Problems of the synthesis of arts and architecture). St.Petersburg: Repin Art Institute, 1977, vol.7, pp.38-59.

³¹ William Craft Brumfield. A History of Russian Architecture. Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.318.

Wittkower,³² were employed by Palladio, also regulate the proportions of the design of L'vov's Cathedral. Indeed, apart from the squares, the length of the section on the west side of St. Joseph's is two thirds of its width, while the total length of the nave is approximately twice the diameter of the semicircle in the west end of the nave. The same ratios regulate the divisions of the facade. For example, the height of the columns is twice the width of the portico, which, in turn, is two thirds of the width of the facade. Moreover, a curtain of columns in the presbytery of the Redentore was echoed in the iconostasis in St. Joseph's, which resembled the segment of a rotunda. The pediments of the outbuildings were combined with the semicircular top of the first floor windows, that reminds one of a similar motif in Palladio's villa Barbaro in Maser and in the rear facade of the villa Malcontenta near Venice. (Plate 10)

L'vov travelled through Italy in 1781. The main source of information about this journey is L'vov's diary, now kept in the Institute of the Russian Literature in St. Petersburg.³³ Surprisingly, L'vov paid little attention to Palladio's buildings in his diary. Although L'vov described his impressions of Bologna and Venice, there is no evidence to suggest that he ever set foot in nearby Vicenza, famous for

³² R. Wittkower. Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism. London: Alec Tiranti Ltd, 1952, pp.126-133.

³³ The diary is kept in the Department of manuscripts of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkinskii Dom) in St.Petersburg, R1, ap.15, N.166. See also: A.B.Nikitina. 'N.A.L'vov. Italianskii dnevnik. 1781. (Putevye zamechaniia). (N.A.L'vov. The Italian Diary. (Travel Notes)). Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia. (Cultural Monuments. New Discoveries). 1994. Moscow: Nauka. 1996, pp.249-276. However, Nikitina's publication of L'vov's diary contains mistakes, for instance, several parts of the text have been missed out, while the commentary is inadequate. Therefore, the original will be subsequently quoted, unless otherwise indicated.

its large number of Palladio's buildings. In fact, L'vov mentioned in passing only St.Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.³⁴ However, during his stay in Venice L'vov may have bought Palladio's Quattro libri dell Architettura published by Bartolomeo Carampello in 1616 which subsequently served as the model for L'vov's edition of the treatise in 1798.³⁵

Although the principles which determined the architecture of St.Joseph's can be traced back to Palladio, no direct imitation of designs by this architect is found in the plan, facade and interior of the Cathedral. Therefore, it is possible to postulate the existence of another source for Palladian motifs in St.Joseph's: namely the Palladian tradition rather than Palladio himself.

Two major representatives of Palladianism, who might have influenced L'vov, were the Italian Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817) and the Scot Charles Cameron (1745-1812). These architects arrived in Russia on the invitation of Catherine the Great and both were particularly appreciated by the Empress. For example, Catherine described Cameron as a 'great designer trained in the antique manner', and Quarenghi, in her view, produced 'the most delightful things'.³⁶ Both Cameron and Quarenghi were given important royal commissions, for instance, Cameron in 1779 was entrusted with designing the complex of Baths at the suburban Imperial residence at Tsarskoe Selo, while Quarenghi in 1780 was

³⁴ The Italian Diary. op.cit., p.62.

³⁵ L'vov subsequently pointed out that he purchased his copy of Palladio's treatise in Venice. N.A.L'vov. 'Ot izdatelia russkogo Palladia'. op.cit., pp.1-2.

³⁶ Isobel Rae. op.cit., p.15; V.I.Piliavskii. Dzhakomo Kvarengi. Arkhitekt. Khudozhnik. (Giacomo Quarenghi. Architect. Artist.) Leningrad: Stroiizdat, 1981, p.63.

made in charge of building works in the English Park at Peterhof, another royal estate near St.Petersburg, and many other projects. L'vov was certainly aware of the tastes of the Empress and carefully noted how these were catered to by Quarenghi and Cameron.

Quarenghi had already earned some reputation as an architect and a connoisseur of the Roman antiquities before his arrival in Russia.³⁷ In his designs, such as the interior of the Church of Santa Scolastica at Subiaco, 1770, and the Palace for Lord Hagerston, earl of Northumberland, 1777, Quarenghi followed the principles of Palladian architecture, such as symmetry and simplicity of the composition and restraint in decoration. The architect also expressed the reverence to Palladio in his writings and mentioned Vicenza as one of the places of his artistic education. Indeed, Quarenghi is known to have carefully studied Teatro Olimpico and the villa Rotonda in Vicenza and later used the motifs inspired by these buildings in his designs, such as the Theatre of the Hermitage, 1783-1787, the English Palace at Peterhof, 1781-1794, and in his drawings.³⁸ (Plate 11) Both the writings and architecture of Quarenghi demonstrate that his system of proportions was considerably influenced by Palladio.³⁹ For example, the proportions of his buildings are based on such ratios, as 1:1, 1:2, 2:3, and others, recommended by Palladio in the Quattro libri dell'Architettura, 1570.

³⁷ W.C.Brumfield. op.cit., p.291.

³⁸ V.I.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.29.

³⁹ Ibid, p.78.

This treatise as well as other books by and about Palladio were kept in the library of Quarenghi, brought by him to Russia.⁴⁰

The link between L'vov and Quarenghi is obvious. From the beginning of the 1780s, the architects closely collaborated on a number of commissions, many of which were offered by Bezborodko. For example, in 1781, Quarenghi designed a house for Bezborodko in Pochtamptskaia street in the centre of St.Petersburg and L'vov assisted in the execution of the interior decoration.⁴¹

It is possible to suggest that the first major building produced by L'vov may have been influenced by the ideas elaborated by Quarenghi. For example, such Palladian features, as symmetry and simplicity of the composition, lack of excessive decoration, the proportions based on harmonic ratios are common to both St.Joseph's and the works of Quarenghi. The partnership of the two architects will be considered further in this thesis.

Another possible source for L'vov's Palladianism was the work of Cameron. His early biography, which is still obscure, was considered by other scholars.⁴² However, it is important for this discussion to ascertain to what extent Cameron's works were genuinely Palladian. Cameron declared himself a follower of

⁴⁰ Piervaleriano Angelini. 'Giacomo Quarenghi bibliofilo'. Bergomum. Bergamo: Casa Editrice e Tipografia Secomandi, 1992, N3, pp. 107-205.

⁴¹ M.V.Budilina et al. op.cit., p.26.

⁴² John Martin Robinson. 'A Dazzling Adventurer. Charles Cameron: the lost early years.' Apollo. Jan.1992, pp.31-35; Frank Salmon. 'Charles Cameron and Nero's *Domus Aurea*: una piccola

Palladio by publication of the book The Baths of the Romans, 1772, 2nd. ed. 1775, which was to complete Palladio's investigation of the ancient Roman baths. In the proposals for publishing this volume, Cameron indicated that he studied under Isaac Ware. Ware's buildings, such as Oxford Town Hall, 1751, and publications, such as Designs of Inigo Jones, 1733, and the immaculate edition of Palladio's Four Books on Architecture, 1738, characterize him as one of the major representatives of Palladianism in Britain and a follower of Lord Burlington. Yet, the designs produced by Cameron show a mixture of Palladian ideas, ancient Greek and Roman motifs, and inescapable influence of Robert Adam, particularly his programmes for the decoration of Palace interiors. For example, the Palace at Pavlovsk, a grand-ducal estate near Tsarskoe Selo, designed by Cameron in 1780-1782 is an interpretation of Palladian buildings, such as the villa Rotonda. The Palace also features the central Italian Hall, inspired by the Pantheon, and the Greek Hall based on the plan of the traditional Greek courtyard, surrounded by columns. Both the Greek and Italian Halls also have an affinity with the Rotunda and the Great Hall at Kedleston, designed by Robert Adam.

L'vov must have been acquainted with the work of Cameron. Quarenghi, with whom L'vov closely co-operated, worked at Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk alongside Cameron from 1780.⁴³ Quarenghi's interest in the designs of Cameron is demonstrated by his drawings of Cameron's buildings and interiors in Tsarskoe

esplorazione. Architectural History. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, vol.36, 1993, pp.69-93; Dimitri Shvidkovsky. The Empress & The Architect, op.cit.

⁴³ V.I.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.204.

Selo and Pavlovsk. Quarenghi also was a member of the commission, which investigated the cause of the collapse of a vault in Cameron's Baths in 1781.⁴⁴ Bezborodko, as the secretary of the Empress, was well aware of the artistic life at the court and also acted as a mediator between Cameron and Catherine.⁴⁵ L'vov certainly saw Cameron's buildings himself. In summertime, the Empress and her court moved to Tsarskoe Selo and L'vov, being a protégé of both Catherine and Bezborodko, should have visited this summer residence. In the beginning of the 1780s, L'vov is supposed to have participated in building the pavilions and landscaping the garden in a royal estate of Alexandrova situated in the immediate vicinity of the park at Pavlovsk.⁴⁶

It does not seem possible to determine whether the Palladian motifs employed in St. Joseph's had their origin in Cameron or Quarenghi's architecture, since the styles of the both architects were similar and probably exercised a mutual influence. For example, the designs for the Palace of Count Zavadovskii in Lialichi in the Ukraine, produced by Quarenghi in the 1780s, and the Palace at Pavlovsk have much in common in composition and planning. The later works of L'vov show a considerable influence of the both architects, that will be investigated further in the following chapters. But one must suggest that L'vov's designs for St. Joseph's were influenced by this Palladian source rather than Palladio himself.

⁴⁴ G.K.Koz'mian. Charlz Kameron. Lenizdat, 1987, p.26.

⁴⁵ G.K.Koz'mian. op.cit., p.43; M.G.Voronov, G.D.Khodasevich. Arkhitekturnyi ansambl' Kamerona v Pushkine. (Architectural ensemble of Cameron at Pushkin). Lenizdat, 1990, p.58.

⁴⁶ M.V.Budilina et al. op.cit., p.92.

The baseless Greek Doric columns used by L'vov in the porticoes of St. Joseph's cannot be attributed to Palladio's influence. Although Palladio included an illustration of this order in the first book of his Quattro libri, he remarked that the base adds very much to the beauty of the Doric⁴⁷ and in his buildings never used baseless columns.

The baseless Greek Doric columns were a fundamental novelty introduced in St. Joseph's, since no Russian architect used this order before. L'vov remarked in the explanation to one of his designs for the Cathedral that he was following the examples of the ancient Greek temples in Athens and Paestum, which he did not specify. L'vov probably referred to the Parthenon in Athens and the 'Basilica', the temples of 'Ceres' and 'Poseidon' in Paestum, all of which feature baseless fluted Doric columns. L'vov could have made a trip to Paestum during his visit to Naples in 1781, though it is not recorded in the Italian Diary or any other document. However, it is insufficient to explain the use of the Greek Doric only by reference to Paestum and Athens. First of all, the proportions of the order in St. Joseph's are slenderer than those of the Parthenon and the three Doric temples in Paestum. For example, the diameter of the base relates to the height of the column as 1:7 in St. Joseph's, while in the Parthenon the same ratio equals 1:1.57. Therefore, it is essential to make an attempt not only to understand where L'vov could obtain his notion of the Greek Doric from, but also to find another possible sources of inspiration for St. Joseph's porticoes. Secondly, the political

⁴⁷ Andrea Palladio. The Four Books on Architecture. New York: Dover, 1965, p.17.

background of the commission for the Cathedral should be considered as a possible ideological underpinning for the use of the Greek Doric.

The Doric order described by Vitruvius in the Ten Books on Architecture has certain affinity with the order used by L'vov. For example, according to the Roman author the height of the column should relate to the diameter of the base as 7:1, the columns are characterized as baseless and fluted.⁴⁸ This indicates that L'vov must have had the treatise by Vitruvius as one of his sources. The editions of the Ten Books on Architecture by Vitruvius were kept in the libraries of Quarenghi, Cameron and in the Academy of Arts.⁴⁹ These copies might have been accessible to L'vov. It should be indicated here that the Russian translation of the treatise of Vitruvius was not published until 1789. However, L'vov did not follow all the precepts given by Vitruvius. For example, he used only one metopa between the triglyphs placed over the columns and made all intercolumnations equal. In contrast, Vitruvius suggested that the entablature should be decorated with a greater number of triglyphs and metopes and also that the central intercolumnation should be wider than the others. (Plate 12) Vitruvius also argued that the ancient architects avoided the use of the Doric order in temples.⁵⁰ L'vov was probably influenced by this antique source, but he did not confine himself by complying with all the rules of Vitruvius.

⁴⁸ Vitruvius. The Ten Books on Architecture. New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1960, pp.109-113.

⁴⁹ P. Angelini. op.cit., pp.126, 140, 176, 185; Catalogue d'une Bibliothèque précieuse consistant en livres sur les Arts, les Sciences, l'Histoire, etc. St.Petersburg, 1812, p.77, N310. This is the only copy of Cameron's library catalogue, which is accessible on microfilm in the Russian State Library, Moscow, F1-72/13110.

The second half of the eighteenth century brought the rediscovery of the Greek classical architecture. It was reflected in such influential publications as Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce, 1758, by Le Roy and Differentes vues de trois grands edifices qui subsistent encore dans le milieu de l'ancienne ville de Pesto, 1778, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Some books on that subject, for instance, the French translation of The Ruins of Paestum by Thomas Major, 1768, were acquired by the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg before 1780 and were accessible to L'vov.⁵¹ The Grecian Orders of Architecture, 1768, by Stephen Riou was one of the volumes contained in the library brought to Russia by Cameron.⁵² There is an indication in one of L'vov's notebooks that in 1781 he read Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens,⁵³ first published in 1764 by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, whose studies of ancient Greek art and architecture considerably influenced the development of the Greek revival. Winckelmann's appreciation of the 'mature' columns of Paestum may have influenced the revaluation of this order by Neo-Classical architects.⁵⁴

James Stuart pioneered the use of the Greek Doric order in Europe in the Doric Temple in Hagley Hall, West Midlands, 1758. The earliest example of the use of

⁵⁰ Vitruvius. op.cit, pp.109-113.

⁵¹ N.A.Evsina. Arkhitekturnaia teoria v Rossii vtoroi poloviny 18-nachala 19 veka. (Architectural theory in Russian at the second half of the eighteenth-beginning of the nineteenth century). Moscow: 1985, pp.89, 102.

⁵² This book is presently kept in the Library of the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg, N78829.

⁵³ 'Putevaia tetrad' N1.' ('The travel notebook N1'). The archive of the Institute of Russian Literature, St. Petersburg. 16.470/CIVb20, p.63 reverse.

this order in France was Ledoux's project of the Theater at Besancon, produced in 1778, while in Germany, Hans Christian Genelli decorated the Temple to Frederick the Great with the Greek Doric in 1786. Generally, the eighteenth-century architects were moderate in use of the Greek Doric. For example, no eighteenth century public building in Britain which could be compared with St. Joseph's had the Greek Doric in the exterior. Moreover, the Greek revival was opposed by English Palladians, such as James Paine and William Chambers, who considered the Greek style as an expression of a bad taste.⁵⁵ Out of this European setting, St. Joseph's emerges as an embodiment of progressive ideas.

L'vov probably turned his attention to Greek architecture because of the requirements of the commission, received from Catherine the Great. At the beginning of the 1780s, the Empress was particularly preoccupied with her 'Greek Project', by which she intended to 'liberate' from the Turks the areas around the Black Sea once colonized by Greece. The ultimate aim of this endeavour was the destruction of Ottoman Porta and recreation of the Greek empire with the capital in Constantinople. The plan, however, resulted only in the enlargement of the Russian Empire: after the wars with Turkey in 1768-74 and 1787-91, Russia annexed the Crimea and other territories on the north coast of the Black Sea.

Catherine's political ambitions were emphatically expressed by the art and architecture of the Russian court. Thus, the 'Ruin' erected by the architect Yuri

⁵⁴ N. Pevsner, S. Lang. 'Apollo or Baboon'. *Architectural Review*, CIV, Dec. 1948, pp.271-279.

Fel'ten (Georg Velten) between 1771 and 1773 at the park of Tsarskoe Selo, symbolized the dilapidated state of the Ottoman Empire and was dedicated to the Russian success during the first Russian-Turkish war. However, it was Cameron, who was entrusted to create architectural expression of the 'Greek Project'. In 1780, Cameron was given the commission to design the Cathedral of St. Sophia for the newly founded city of the same name. The building was intended to remind one of the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. It was also Cameron who introduced the Greek Doric in Russian architecture. The earliest example of its use is the Temple of Friendship designed in 1779 and completed in 1781 at Pavlovsk, a grand-ducal estate a few miles away from Tsarskoe Selo (Plate 13). Cameron's Temple was dedicated by the Grand Duke Paul and his wife Maria to the Empress, that could well have affected the architect's choice of the Greek Doric. Significantly enough, Joseph II participated in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Temple during his visit to Pavlovsk in summer 1780 and, as he pointed out in a letter to his mother Maria Teresa, 'all this was accompanied by many courtesies and declarations of eternal friendship, at which Panin, Potemkin and various other people were present'.⁵⁵ While Count Nikita Panin, soon-to-be-dismissed foreign minister and a mentor of the Grand Duke Paul, was one of the adversaries of the alliance with Austria, Catherine's lover Grigorii Potemkin was among the most ardent supporters of the 'Greek Project': it was Potemkin who prepared the rapprochement with the Hapsburg Empire in

⁵⁵ Ibid, p.276.

⁵⁶ Dimitri Shvidkovsky. *The Empress & The Architect*. op.cit., p.149.

the talks with Austrian ambassador Cobenzl.⁵⁷ The presence of Potemkin and Panin at the ceremony underlines the political importance of the event: the participants must have been well aware of the symbolic significance of the Temple of Friendship, expressed through the dedication of the structure and its architectural forms. The exterior of the pavilion is ornamented with reliefs, which manifest the ideas of friendship and loyalty to the Empress. For instance, couples of dolphins are depicted in the frieze, while the statue of Catherine represented as Ceres, the ancient Roman goddess of the growth of food plants, decorates the interior. The fluted baseless Doric columns which surround the whole structure have slender proportions similar to those used in St.Joseph's. Since L'vov was aware of Cameron's designs, the Temple of Friendship was probably one of his sources of inspiration to use the Greek Doric in the Cathedral in Mogilev.

L'vov's decision to introduce the Greek Doric in St.Joseph's may well have had a political underpinning. L'vov was no doubt aware of the political background of his commission. Bezborodko himself drafted the 'Greek Project' in 1779-1780 and also played an important role in preparing the alliance with Austria.⁵⁸ He was assisted by another L'vov's patron, Piotr Bakunin, who employed L'vov as a secretary and courier in the Collegia (Ministry) of Foreign Affairs. In May 1780,

⁵⁷ David L.Ransel. The Politics of Catherinian Russia. The Panin Party. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1975, pp.253-254.

⁵⁸ For an analysis of the 'Greek Project' see: J.T.Alexander. op.cit., p.242; Isabel de Madariaga. 'The Secret Austro-Russian Treaty of 1781'. The Slavonic and East European Review, vol. thirty-eight. University of London: published for the School of Slavonic and East European Studies by the Athlone Press. 1959-1960, pp.114-145.

L'vov delivered the papers of the Russo-Austrian convention to Belorussia, which according to a letter of Bezborodko very much pleased the Empress.⁵⁹

L'vov's work as a courier provided a convenient pretext for his Italian journey. In May 1781, Bezborodko sent L'vov to deliver diplomatic mail to Warsaw, Vienna and Naples.⁶⁰ In addition to fulfilling this commitment, L'vov spent much time on educating himself in the arts. That trip had much in common with the idea of Grand Tour, since the sightseeing was L'vov's major occupation during his voyage. He reached Naples by 19th of May and remained in Italy until the end of July. The Italian diary, which L'vov started to write in Livorno on 7th of July on the way back to Vienna, throws light on his artistic preferences and mentions several sites, which he visited. L'vov described the works of art and architectural monuments in Livorno, Florence, Pisa, Bologna and Venice. L'vov was

⁵⁹ N.Grigorovich. op.cit., vol.I, p.68. L'vov probably had access to classified material of the Collegia of the Foreign Affairs. For instance, in March 1781, he signed a compulsory undertaking not to meet with ministers and members of diplomatic services of foreign countries. See: K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Novye dannye k biografii N.A.L'vova'. op.cit., p.140.

⁶⁰ L'vov crossed the Russian border on 4th of May 1781 on the way to Warsaw and arrived in Vienna on the way back from Italy to Russia on 29th of July 1781. K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Italianskii dnevnik N.A.L'vova'. ('N.L'vov's Italian Diary'). Europa orientalis, 14 (1995):1, pp.73, 75. It is possible to suggest that L'vov's travel may have been a part of the preparations for European tour of the Grand Duke Paul and his wife Maria which was planned to start in mid-September. Initially Catherine hoped to limit the trip to Austria and Italy. Significantly enough, L'vov visited all major stops on the route of the first part of Paul and Maria's journey: Poland, Vienna, Venice, Rome, Naples, Florence and Livorno. It is also important that L'vov was a trusted member of the court party of Bezborodko, Peter Bakunin, who was Catherine's first commissioner for foreign affairs, and Counts Semion and Alexander Vorontsov, all of whom patronised L'vov, were close to the Empress and opposed to Paul. For the description of Paul and Maria's European tour, see: Roderick E. McGrew. Paul I of Russia. 1754-1801. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1992, pp.115-132.

particularly impressed by the Tower in Pisa. For example, he produced an elaborate drawing of the Tower, noted its dimensions and remarked that 'it is awesome to see such a huge structure almost hanging in the air'⁶¹. It is also evident from the text that L'vov had been sightseeing in Rome. L'vov mentioned some works of art, such as Laocoon, Raphael's frescos and drawings, which he saw in Vatican and Roman collections.⁶²

Konstantin Lappo-Danilevskii has suggested that L'vov's prolonged stay in Italy was a reward for the successful completion of the designs for St.Joseph's.⁶³ However, it is possible to argue that the sequence of events was different: having laid the foundation stone of the Cathedral, L'vov was given an opportunity to visit Italy in order to complete the designs. As it has been pointed out above, there are few records of what he was doing in Italy during the most part of his trip. Nevertheless one fact may be established with a considerable degree of certainty: in Rome, he probably met the printmaker Francesco Faccenda and on behalf of Catherine the Great commissioned him to engrave the designs for St.Joseph's. The inscriptions on the prints executed in 1782 mention the Empress as the client and indicate that the designs were produced by L'vov in 1781. This information has been ignored in the publications on L'vov's architecture, yet it proves essential in the reassessment of the sources of St.Joseph's. It also explains why L'vov, whose modest means hindered his marriage to Mariia Diakova, a daughter of a high ranking official (ober-procuror) of the State Senate,

⁶¹ 'The Italian Diary.' op.cit., p.10, reverse.

⁶² Ibid, pp.24, 32 reverse, 78.

⁶³ K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'O literaturnom nasledii N.A.L'vova'. op.cit., p.11.

could afford to spend a considerable amount of time travelling through Italy: the state importance of his project may have brought the government's funding, which allowed him to extend his stay.

It is possible to suggest that L'vov was chosen by Bezborodko and the Empress to create an architectural embodiment of the 'Greek Project' in the Cathedral of St. Joseph. A logical way to express that idea was to use the forms derived from monuments of ancient Greece, such as the Greek Doric order. Since it was difficult to observe the original architecture of that country occupied by the Turks, a decision may have been made to send L'vov to Italy, the country which was colonised by the Greeks in antiquity and subsequently during the Roman Empire adopted the Greek culture. Moreover, the mixture of Greek and Roman motifs, the likely outcome of an exposure of the amateur architect to the ancient heritage of Italy, may have been welcomed by L'vov's clients.

A combination of Greek and Italian motifs possibly served to express the idea of the Third Rome. This was one of the cornerstones of Russian political thought since the fifteenth century, when the Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan III married Sophia (Zoe) Paleolog, the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, and thus acquired the right to claim descentance from Roman Caesars. According to the concept of the Third Rome, elaborated by the monk Filofei, Russia was a successor of the Eastern Roman Empire established by Constantine, and Moscow was the inheritor of Constantinople, which was viewed as the second Rome. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the concept of the Third Rome gave Russia the moral right and responsibility to attack the Turks and to attempt to

recreate the Empire of Constantine. L'vov may have seen the connection between the 'Greek Project' and the idea of the Third Rome, since his design features both typically Greek and quintessentially Roman motifs, such as the baseless Doric order and the cupola inspired by the Pantheon.

It is also important that at the end of the 1770s and at the beginning of the 1780s, Catherine was particularly interested in attracting Italian architects, such as Quarenghi, and those educated in Italy, for instance, Cameron, who made the Empress believe that he spent many years in Rome studying architecture.⁶⁴ Her decision to send L'vov to Italy seems to have been a result of her ambition to have a Russian architect trained in the Italian manner which she favoured. L'vov's lack of education in the Academy of Arts, dominated by early Neo-Classical French influences and criticised by Catherine, became an important advantage: the talented young man could have been considered as a tabula rasa, uncorrupted by unnecessary knowledge and ready to absorb the 'correct' style developing in Italy. The fact that a number of progressive architects from France, Britain and other European countries, such as Marie-Joseph Peyre and John Soane, developed their style in Italy testifies to the wisdom of Catherine's decision. She may well have been influenced by Quarenghi who had contacts in the international community of architects and was well informed about the artistic life in Italy. For instance, he participated in the competition of St. Luke

⁶⁴ D.O. Shvidkovsky. 'Kameron I Italia' ('Cameron and Italy'). Dzhakomo Kvarengi I Neoclassitsizm xviii veka. (Giacomo Quarenghi and Neo-Classicism of the Eighteenth Century). Summaries of the papers presented at the conference devoted to the celebration of two hundred and fifty years of Quarenghi's birth. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage, 1994, p. 51.

Academy of Fine Arts in Rome in 1771⁶⁵ and worked together with Soane recording the ruins of the villa of Hadrian in Tivoli in 1777.⁶⁶

It is not impossible that during his journey L'vov visited the Academy of Fine Arts in Parma, a renowned international centre for the development of progressive architectural ideas at the second half of the eighteenth century. L'vov could have seen an exhibition of the designs submitted to the competition on the subject of a castello d'acqua held in 1780 in the Academy of Parma. The travel writer Anna Riggs Miller who visited Parma in the previous decade mentioned seeing such a display of concorso designs.⁶⁷

Indeed, the style of St. Joseph's is similar to that of the winning design for a castello d'acqua produced by a Frenchman Auguste Cheval de Saint-Hubert. (Plate 14) In both structures, the main volumes are based on elementary geometric forms and decorated with Doric porticoes and minimal surface ornament. These designs reflected the latest trend in Neo-Classical architecture, which imitated the simplicity of ancient Greek buildings. The Parthenon in Athens and the temples in Paestum, decorated with the massive Greek Doric order with baseless columns, were considered embodiments of the primitive

⁶⁵ V.I.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.28.

⁶⁶ Pierre de la Ruffiniere du Prey. John Soane. The making of an architect. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 1982, p.155. The villa of the Emperor Hadrian in Tivoli, built between AD 118 and 134, is the largest of all Roman villas. The remains of the villa provided examples of planning, structural solutions and ornamentation used by the Romans and were carefully examined by major Neo-Classical architects.

⁶⁷ Anna Riggs Miller. Letters from Italy. London, 2nd ed., 1777, I, p.276-277.

character of the Greek architecture. These columns were emulated in the designs of Saint-Hubert, the runner-up Vincenzo Poma and John Soane, who also intended to participate in the Parma competition.⁶⁸ L'vov's mention of the Greek temples in Athens and Paestum in the explanation to his designs demonstrates that he was well aware of the latest development in European architectural thought, exemplified by the designs produced for the Academy of Parma.

L'vov was aware of the works of the Frenchman Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot, who was educated in the studio of Soufflot and became a professor of architecture at the Academy of Parma.⁶⁹ His pupils including Vincenzo Poma participated in the competition of 1780.⁷⁰ L'vov chose to translate into Russian Petitot's book on perspective published in Parma in 1758.⁷¹ A depiction of St. Joseph's was inserted into the drawing on the cover of L'vov's edition of Petitot's treatise which appeared in 1788. (Plate 15) This may well have been a form of acknowledgement by L'vov of his indebtedness to Petitot.

Indeed, the innovative features introduced in St. Joseph's, such as the plan and the double-shelled dome, seem to have been inspired by the ideas elaborated by

⁶⁸ John Soane withdrew his entry from the competition. Pierre du Prey. *op.cit.*, pp.186-187; Damien Stillman. 'British Architects and Italian Architectural Competitions, 1758-1780'. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians. March 1973, vol. XXXII, No.1, pp.60-66.

⁶⁹ The Dictionary of Art. Grove, 1996, vol.24, pp.552-553.

⁷⁰ Pierre du Prey. *op.cit.*, p.188.

⁷¹ Rassuzhdenie o prospektive v pol'zu narodnykh uchilishch, izdal N.L'vov, sentyabrya 10, 1788 goda. Saint-Petersburg: v tipografii Gornogo Uchilishcha. 1788. Translated from: Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot, Raisonnement sur la perspective pour en faciliter l'usage aux artistes.... Published by Pierre-Jacques Gaultier. Parme: les freres Faure, 1758.

Petitot in the unrealised design for a royal chapel for the town of Colorno north of Parma. (Plates 16, 17) L'vov could possibly have seen this design, which was included in a collection of the engravings of Petitot's works produced in 1764.⁷² For example, the traditional plan resembling the Latin cross has been transformed by Petitot into a combination of simple geometric forms: its rectangular central volume with the addition of a semicircular apse on the east end and a rectangular block on the west is similar to the layout of St.Joseph's.

Joseph II visited the Academy of Parma in 1769.⁷³ The Duchy of Parma was an affiliated state of the Hapsburg Empire and the home of Joseph's first wife Isabella and his brother in law Ferdinand, the Duke of Parma. Joseph could recommend L'vov to pay a visit to the Academy in Parma.⁷⁴

The Emperor favoured architecture in the austere Neo-Classical style: cuboid forms and functionalism of the Neo-Classical buildings appealed to him.⁷⁵ His taste in architecture was not dissimilar to Catherine's and L'vov in the designs for St.Joseph's may have expressed not just common political goals but also artistic ideas shared by the both monarchs. For instance, the use of the cupola of

⁷² Marco Pellegri. Ennemondo Alessandro Petitot. 1727-1801. Parma, 1965, p. 81.

⁷³ Ibid., p.119.

⁷⁴ Pellegri also indicated that Catherine the Great requested the statute of the Academy of Parma 'to model the new Academies of Her Empire on that of Parma'. Ibid., p.51. However, no such documents are known to have been delivered to St.Petersburg.

⁷⁵ For more information on the architecture of Austria under Joseph II, see: Wilhelm Georg Rizzi and Mario Schwarz. 'Die architektur zur zeit Josephs II'. Österreich zur zeit Kaizer Josephs II. Mitregent Keizerin Maria Teresias, Kaizer und Landesfürst. Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung. Stift Melg. 29.März - 2.November 1980, pp.200-210, 564-572.

the Pantheon in L'vov's design may well have been an allusion to both the Russian and Hapsburg Empires' aspirations to present themselves as inheritors of the Roman Empire. The simplicity of the cuboid volume, the references to antiquity and the similarity to the progressive French models in L'vov's Cathedral are the features, which are also found in the architecture of the Hapsburg Empire since the 1760s.

Joseph particularly favoured the works of the French architect Isidore Canevale (1730-1786), which were influenced by the innovative style of his teacher Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni, based on the principles of regularity and inspired by classical models. Canevale's Cathedral in Vác, Hungary, built from 1763 until 1772 by the commission of bishop Christoph Anton Migazzi, who was also archbishop of Vienna, is one of the earliest buildings in the Neo-Classical style in the Monarchy. The detached columns of the portico and the simplicity of cuboid volumes of the Cathedral in Vác prefigure L'vov's design for St. Joseph's. (Plate 18)

The abbey church designed by the Frenchman Pierre-Michel d'Ixnard (1723-1795) and built from 1764 until 1784 in the Benedictine monastery of St. Blasius in St. Blasien, Waldshut in southern Germany is one of the analogies to St. Joseph's: both structures have their central space based on the Pantheon and covered with a low cupola. (Plate 19) The massiveness of the forms of the buildings designed by both Canevale and d'Ixnard has been compared with the

works of Ledoux and Boullée, and it is also similar to St. Joseph's.⁷⁶ However, the major sources of inspiration for d'Ixnard were ancient Roman monuments and the concept of the 'Greek taste' embodied in the designs of the influential Flemish architectural engraver Jean Francois de Neufforge.

Engravings of Neufforge were instrumental in disseminating Neo-Classical ideas in Europe. Neufforge published his designs in Paris in nine volumes under the title Recueil Elementaire d'Architecture.⁷⁷ His designs were intended for different types of structures, from Cathedrals and Palaces to modest houses and sepulchral monuments. The designs reflected the influence of various trends, for instance, the giant pilasters on the facades of the villas, illustrated by Neufforge, were derived from Palladian architecture, while the free-standing columns were inspired by the specifically French version of the Greek style.⁷⁸ The works of d'Ixnard highlight the importance of Neufforge's ideas outside France. Indeed, the designs of Neufforge circulated in Europe, for instance, they were studied by Robert Adam and John Soane.⁷⁹ The engravings of Neufforge were known in Russia: for instance, a number of prints were purchased in the 1760s for the

⁷⁶ For more information on Canevale and d'Ixnard, see: The Dictionary of Art. Ed. by Jane Turner. Grove, 1996, vol. 2, 5, 16; Nicolas Powell. From Baroque to Rococo. An Introduction to Austrian and German Architecture from 1580 to 1790. London: Faber and Faber Limited. 1959, pp.125-130. During his two visits to Vienna in 1781, L'vov may have become acquainted with the recent trends in Austrian architecture. For instance, his dairy contains a drawing of the arch in the park in Shönbrunn inspired by ancient Roman ruins and engravings by Piranesi. The Italian Dairy. op.cit., p.93 reverse.

⁷⁷ J.F. de Neufforge. Recueil Elementaire d'Architecture. Paris, 1757-1780.

⁷⁸ Macmillan Encyclopaedia of Architects. Adolf K.Placzek ed.in chief. New York: The Free Press, 1982, vol.3, p.278.

⁷⁹ S.Eriksen. op.cit., p.57.

libraries of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg and Kamennyi Prikaz, the architectural school in Moscow.⁸⁰ The discussion of the dome of St. Joseph's will demonstrate that the ideas of Neufforge may have influenced L'vov.

The dome was one of the most ingenious features of L'vov's Cathedral. In the consideration of the dome two points will be observed in more detail: first of all, the usefulness of such a device, secondly, the possibility of the combination of various influences, which resulted in the peculiar form and structure of the dome.

L'vov pointed out in the explanation to one of the designs for St. Joseph's, that 'on account of the climate it was impossible to make an open vault, according to the example of the Pantheon'. Therefore, the double-shelled dome was designed by means of which the interior was to be protected from the elements and at the same time sufficiently lit.

Both the mention of the Pantheon in the explanation to the design for St. Joseph's and the round opening in the centre of the lower shell of the cupola, which reminds one of the oculus of the Pantheon, indicate that L'vov used this monument as one of his models. L'vov might have seen the Pantheon during his stay in Rome in 1781. It is also possible to suggest that both Quarenghi and Cameron could supply L'vov with the idea to imitate the Pantheon. Cameron used the composition of the Pantheon in his buildings, such as the Temple of Friendship and the Palace at Pavlovsk. Quarenghi brought from Rome to

⁸⁰ N.A.Evsina. *op.cit.*, p.38.

St.Petersburg a number of books on ancient Roman architecture, such as Les Edifices antiques de Rome by Antoine Desgodetz, published in 1682, Piranesi's views of Rome and Palladio's Quattro libri, in which the Pantheon was well illustrated.⁸¹

The concept of the double-shelled structure of the dome was elaborated by French architects. Such cupolas had been used in France in a number of buildings before L'vov produced designs for St.Joseph's. For instance, Claude Nicola Ledoux used a double-shelled dome in the Hotel de Montmorency in Paris designed in 1769. The Hotel could have been known to L'vov from Quarenghi, who copied and studied Ledoux's designs of the late 1760s and 1770s.⁸² The double-shelled dome in Petitot's design for the royal chapel in Colorno may also have been a source of inspiration for the cupola of St.Joseph's. Another likely source for the dome of St.Joseph's is the design for a building with double-shelled cupola included in L'vov's book of designs of Neufforge, now kept in the Palace museum in Gatchina near St.Petersburg.⁸³ The cupola of the edifice (Plate 20) consists of two shells: the inner one has a round opening at the top, while the exterior cupola has windows in the sides.⁸⁴ Neufforge also recommended such a

⁸¹ P.Angelini. op.cit, pp.180, 204.

⁸² V.N.Piliavskii. op.cit., pp. 35-37.

⁸³ Gatchina Palace Museum, department of graphics, G.N322. This album consists mainly of the designs collected from the volumes of the Recueil Elementaire d'Architecture. L'vov presumably acquired the engravings during his stay in Paris in 1777. The designs of Neufforge were also sold in the unbound sets of six that explains why L'vov's book contains the engravings from different volumes. S.Eriksen. Early Neoclassicism in France. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1974, p.207.

⁸⁴ The Gatchina album, p.92.

structure of the dome for ecclesiastical buildings, though none of these designs are included in L'vov's book.

It is possible to suggest that the idea of the double-shelled dome of St. Joseph's may have been an outcome of L'vov's ingenious compilation of different sources: most important being the Pantheon and the concept of the double-shelled dome, elaborated in the designs of Neufforge and Petitot.

The borrowings from the works of other architects, which L'vov could have made for his design for St. Joseph's, were not uncommon in the artistic world of the late eighteenth century. For example, the design of Saint-Hubert for the competition at Parma was indebted to that produced by his countryman Etienne de Sein on the same theme for the prix de Rome competition in 1777,⁸⁵ while Quarenghi's design for a Cathedral and a monastery submitted to the competition at the Academy of St. Luke in 1771 was copied two years later by a Neapolitan Saverio Marini in his design for the front elevation of Piazza del Popolo in Rome, a prizewinner at Concorso Balestra of the same Academy.⁸⁶

European architectural publications were often used as pattern books in the eighteenth-century Russia. For example, when L'vov intended to sell some of his

⁸⁵ Pierre du Prey. *op.cit.*, p. 189.

⁸⁶ Marini borrowed from Quarenghi the composition of the central part of the facade: the form of the cupola, two towers on the facade and the portico decorated with pairs of columns. This fact seems to have been overlooked by scholars, such as Damie Stillman and V.I. Piliavskii. Marini's design is reproduced in: Damie Stillman. 'British Architects and Italian Architectural

books on architecture at the end of the 1790s, he was consulted by the buyer whether the books were suitable as sources for borrowings.⁸⁷ A considerable number of L'vov's designs for earth buildings were derived from English and French pattern books. (See chapter IV).

In St. Joseph's, the Greek elements co-exist with distinctly Roman and Palladian motifs. The use of that combination strengthens the link between L'vov and Cameron. Thus, St. Joseph's unifies the Greek Doric and the rotunda of the Pantheon in a harmonized, symmetrical and restrained Palladian composition. Similarly, Cameron's Temple of Friendship, in addition to the Greek Doric order, features a Pantheon-like central hall, complete with oculus. Besides, the whole structure is reminiscent of the circular temples illustrated in Palladio's Quattro libri, for instance, the temples of Vesta in Rome and Tivoli.⁸⁸ Such synthesis of the Greek, Roman and Palladian features is clearly distinguishable in other major structures by Cameron. For instance, in the complex of the Baths at Tsarskoe Selo, designed as a further elaboration of the work on the revival of the architecture of Roman termae initiated by Palladio, the exterior is decorated with the Ionic order modelled on that of the temple of Erechtheum in the Acropolis in Athens.⁸⁹ The Cathedral of St. Sophia features the same order in the interior,

Competitions, 1758-1780'. op.cit., fig.24, p.60. For a reproduction of Quarenghi's design, see: V.I.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.28.

⁸⁷ A letter by an unidentified person to L'vov is kept in RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N118, p.156.

⁸⁸ A. Palladio. op.cit., plates xxxiv, xxxv, lxv, lxvi.

⁸⁹ For the discussion of Cameron's works, see: Dimitri Shvidkovsky. The Empress & The Architect. op.cit.; V.N. Taleporovskii. Charles Cameron. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Vsesoiuznoi Akademii Arkhitektury, 1939; I. Rae. op.cit.

while the overall structure is an interpretation of Palladio's villa Rotonda. (See chapter I, section II)

Such combination of the Greek, Roman and Palladian motifs also had precedents in European architecture. Drawings of James Stuart, which seem to be related to Nuneham church, Oxfordshire, built in 1764, are examples of such a unification. Incidentally, the exterior of the building depicted in the drawings is remarkably similar to St. Joseph's in the form of the cupola, the Doric portico and overall simplicity of the composition. (Plate 21) This fact illustrates how Neo-Classical ideas were independently developed in the same direction in different parts of Europe.

The use of the Greek motifs in St. Joseph's, particularly in combination with the Palladian and Roman features makes it possible to consider the Cathedral as an avant-garde building both in the contexts of Russian and European architecture. For example, the idea of unifying in one structure the features inspired by the greatest monuments of the architecture of antiquity, such as the portico of the Parthenon and the rotunda of the Pantheon, made St. Joseph's one of the earliest paradigms of Neo-Classical architecture. By contrast it was not until the second decade of the nineteenth century that the same notion was fully developed in Italy by Rodolfo Vantini in the edifice built from 1815 until 1849 in the monumental cemetery in Brescia.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Carroll L.V.Meeks. 'Pantheon Paradigm'. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians. 1960, xix, December, pp.142-144.

Another innovative feature introduced by L'vov in St. Joseph's was the progression in space from the entrance towards the altar. Such remarkable effect was achieved by three separate means. Firstly, according to his explanation, L'vov calculated that the level of lighting doubled from the nave to the space below the cupola and quadrupled in the altar. Indeed, the nave was lit mainly through the doorway and two windows, the space below the cupola was illuminated from above and through the openings in the walls and pediments, while the small space of the altar was lit by three windows. Secondly, as dictated by the notion of propriety, the Doric order used in the exterior of the Cathedral was replaced by the Ionic order in the interior where 'beauties and lightness' were needed. Moreover, this progression culminated with the use of the 'rich' Corinthian order in the shrine. Thirdly, L'vov raised the floor level three times: from the lowest level at the entrance, to the intermediate at the iconostasis to the highest in the altar. L'vov remarked that such an increase of the height of the floor was necessary in order to allow a better view of the altar for the worshipers.

Different sources could have contributed to this idea of spacial progression. The notion of propriety was elaborated by Vitruvius in the Ten Books on Architecture, in which he emphasized the difference between the 'severe' Doric, 'delicate and slender' Corinthian and the Ionic order, which occupied the middle position in the 'hierarchy'. According to Vitruvius, the qualities and the might of a god, to whom the temple was dedicated, determined the choice of the order.⁹¹ In St. Joseph's, however, the sequence of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian columns

⁹¹ Vitruvius. op.cit., pp.14-15.

indicated the importance and character of the different parts of the building: the outside decoration, the area for the worshipers and the altar respectively.

The idea to combine the three orders in one structure is known since antiquity and the most notable example of this sequence is the Colosseum in Rome. Such combination was not unusual in the eighteenth-century architecture. For instance, John Wood the Elder decorated the Circus in Bath with the three orders and in An Essay Towards a Description of Bath, published in 1749, outlined the concept of the orders in sequence, describing 'Stables in the Simplicity of the Doric Dress', 'Ionic Gallery' and 'Stone Hall of the Corinthian Order' in Ralph Allen's country house in Prior Park.⁹² Ledoux's designs for the Palais de Justice, produced between 1778 and 1787, feature Doric porticoes on the facade and Doric columns in the interior on the ground floor, the Ionic columns decorate the rooms on the first floor, while the grand hall of Parlement, the most significant part of the building, is surrounded by a Corinthian colonnade.

L'vov's design also reminds one of the 'scenographic effect', as Rudolf Wittkower termed it, similar to one used by Palladio in the Churches of St. Giorgio Maggiore and the Redentore.⁹³ Such effect was achieved in these Venetian Churches by means of the symbolic distinction of architectural spaces and special articulation of the high altar. A similar device was employed by L'vov. Indeed, both in the Redentore and St. Joseph's, the interior is divided into three distinct units: the nave, the domed area and the altar. As in St. Joseph's, the

⁹² T. Mowl and B. Earnshaw. John Wood. Architect of Obsession. Millstream Books. 1988, p.115.

floor level raises three times in St.Giorgio Maggiore: at the entrance,the presbytery, and again at the choir. However, the ‘scenographic effect’ in the interior of St.Joseph’s is emphasized by the devices, which are absent in the churches of Palladio, such as the ‘progression’ of the order and the increase of the level of lighting.

The ‘progression’ may also have had symbolic meaning inspired by the imagery of Freemasonry. The Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders are associated in Masonic iconography with strength, wisdom and beauty respectively. The increase in the level of illumination from the entrance towards the altar symbolises the way from darkness to enlightenment and salvation, which is represented by the sculpture of the Resurrection on top of the rotunda. The triangle radiating light in the tympanum above the main entrance⁹⁴ and the globe on top of the cupola are wide-spread Masonic emblems.⁹⁵

During the 1770s, the popularity of Freemasonry in Russia was growing: the first Lodge in Russia called the ‘Perfect Union’ was founded in St.Petersburg and recorded in the Engraved Lists of the Grand Lodge of England in 1771, five Lodges were added in 1774. L’vov was a close friend of a number of prominent

⁹³ R.Wittkower. Palladio and English Palladianism. London. Thames and Hudson, 1983, p.15.

⁹⁴ The triangle is represented in the designs of Pavlov.

⁹⁵ For the discussion of Masonic symbolism in architecture, see: James Stevens Curl. The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry. London: B.T.Batsford Ltd., 1991. I am grateful to Mr.John Ashby of the Freemasons Hall, London, for the consultation on Masonic symbolism. The controversial character of that subject was highlighted by Dr.Jane Makferson, who in the paper presented at QC Lodge on 9th of May 1997 criticised Curl’s book and challenged the hypothesis that eighteenth-century gardens, such as the gardens of Worlitz in Saxony, embodied Masonic connotations.

Russian Freemasons, most importantly Ivan Elagin, who was made Provincial Grand Master of Russia by the Grand Lodge of England in 1772.⁹⁶ General Zakhar Chernyshev, the governor-general of Belorussia whose name was recorded alongside those of Catherine and Joseph on a metal plaque installed on the main facade of the Cathedral of St. Joseph, was a Freemason⁹⁷ and could possibly have influenced L'vov's design. Chernyshev was no stranger to the world of architecture: since 1762, he together with the President of the Academy of Arts Ivan Betskoi and Prince Dashkov was in charge of the Commission on the building of St. Petersburg and Moscow set up by the Empress.⁹⁸ Although no proof of L'vov's participation in a Lodge has yet been discovered, it is possible to suggest that he was aware of the activities of the Freemasons and knew the symbols of the craft.

The mysterious quality of light in the interior of St. Joseph's finds a parallel in the works of John Soane, who was involved in the Freemasonry. He gave a theoretical justification and indicated the sources of the idea of the 'lumièrre mystérieuse', which he used to enhance the Picturesque character of his designs. One of these produced after 1820, but based on a design for a Palace of the 1770s, features a Pantheon dome sheltering an inner dome. Such a device was used by the architect to allow light to fall into the great hall below, thereby

⁹⁶ Fiodor L'vov. 'Nikolai Alexandrovich L'vov'. op.cit., p.366. A.G.Cross. 'British Freemasons in Russia during the Reign of Catherine the Great'. Oxford Slavonic Papers, vol.iv, 1971, pp.45, 48.

⁹⁷ Isabel de Madariaga. Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1981, pp.521, 523.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.532.

creating a mysterious effect.⁹⁹ Soane's sources of inspiration, according to David Watkin, were probably the theories of Le Camus de Mézières and Boullée, both of whom elaborated upon the idea of the mysterious light. For instance, Mézières in his well known book Le génie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations, 1780, pointed out the capacity of light to make architecture mysterious. Boullée wrote in c.1790 that such an effect could be produced if the light would fall not directly but in such a way that the spectator would not realise where it was coming from. Boullée may have planned to realise this idea in the twin-shelled dome in his design for the church of the Madeleine of c.1777.¹⁰⁰ L'vov's concept of the double-shelled cupola and the progression seems to be a variation of this notion of the mysterious light elaborated in France and adopted by Soane.

The effects of lighting enhanced the impression produced by the colourful decoration of St. Joseph's interior, which was faced with yellow, green, blue and red artificial marble and stucco. It was Catherine's choice to decorate St. Joseph's interior with artificial marble and to avoid using silver and gold.¹⁰¹ Catherine's decision was probably influenced by Cameron, who considered artificial marble an alternative to the real stone and used it on occasions when a certain grandeur was needed but the funds were insufficient. This was the case at Pavlovsk, an estate of Paul, the disfavoured heir of the throne, who was unable to purchase

⁹⁹ David Watkin. 'Soane and his Contemporaries'. John Soane. Architectural Monographs. London: Academy Editions; New York: St. Martin's Press. 1983, p.41.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Bezborodko to Chernyshev of 22nd December 1780. N.Grigorovich. op.cit., vol.I, p.74.

expensive decorative materials. At Pavlovsk, Cameron achieved remarkable effects by using mostly artificial marble for interior decoration both in the Palace and in the garden pavilions, such as the Temple of Friendship and the Aviary designed in 1780.¹⁰²

L'vov, Quarenghi and Cameron's buildings, in which Palladian rationalism and Neo-Classical innovations merged with scholarly citations from antiquity, made a crucial contribution to the transition to the true or 'strict' Neo-Classicism in Russian architecture. In contrast, the works by leading Russian architects of the 1760s and 1770s display a variety of trends, typical for an early stage in the development of that style.

The French influence on Russian Neo-Classicism is exemplified by the building of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, designed by a Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Michel Vallin de la Mothe and his Russian associate Alexander Kokorinov and constructed from 1764 until 1788. (Plate 22) The square plan of the structure with circular courtyard in the centre and four smaller courtyards in the corners is based on the composition developed in the works of French architects, such as Robert de Cotte's design for Poppelsdorf, Germany, produced in 1715. The extended composition of the main facade with the tetrastyle portico under the cupola in the centre and protruding sections at the corners, the giant pilasters on the walls combined with the rustication of the basement have numerous French prototypes, such as the unrealized design for the building of the same institution

¹⁰² G.K.Koz'mian. *op.cit.*, pp.115, 120, 122.

in Moscow, produced by Jacques-Francois Blondel in 1757. The complex outlines of the projecting central part of the facade of the Academy of Arts add Baroque dynamism to the composition. Although the designs for St. Joseph's also have much in common with works of French architects, the simplicity of the style of L'vov's building demonstrates a new approach to architectural form.

The Marble Palace, constructed by Antonio Rinaldi from 1768 until 1785 for Grigorii Orlov, one of Catherine's favorites, illustrates the presence of Baroque elements in the early Neo-Classical architecture of St. Petersburg. Despite the emphasis on symmetry, the use of rectangular forms and predominantly Neo-Classical ornamentation of the building, a highly unusual and expensive way of decorating the exterior and the grand staircase with various kinds of marble and granite, reveals Baroque influence. (Plate 23) Such ostentatious treatment of the facade of the building, decorated with giant pilasters, vases on top of the walls and volutas above the main entrance, was intended to imitate the grandeur of the Baroque Winter Palace, completed by Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli in 1762 and situated on the same Neva embankment several hundred yards away. A contrary approach was demonstrated in Cameron's complex of the Baths at Tsarskoe Selo, which included the Agate Pavilion adjacent to the Baroque Catherine's Palace, built by Rastrelli. Expensive materials, such as various kinds of jasper, marble and malachite were used in the main rooms in the interior of the Agate Pavilion, while the exterior was decorated with sculptures made of stone and bronze and the walls were faced with a local stone and stucco. (Plates 24, 25) The Pavilion is an embodiment of the Palladian notion of the progression from the modest exterior to the more elaborately decorated interior. As Michael

J. Wilson has indicated, the contrast between the severe exterior and the interiors, rich in both colour and decoration, was a characteristic feature of English Palladian country houses.¹⁰³ This principle found its first theoretical formulation in Russia in L'vov's explanation to the designs for St. Joseph's.

The advanced features embodied in St. Joseph's become particularly obvious when it is compared with the Cathedral of the Trinity, built by Ivan Starov from 1776 until 1790 at the Alexander Nevskii Monastery, which was the major ecclesiastical building constructed in St. Petersburg in the late eighteenth century. (Plate 26) The dome surrounded with Corinthian columns and the Roman Doric portico with its columns resting on bases are the main Neo-Classical features of the structure. The plan in the form of the Latin cross, the combination of the cupola with the two towers above the west facade and several ornamental motifs, such as volutas situated around the lantern on top of the cupola, have their origin in the tradition of the Italian Baroque architecture. For instance, the Latin cross plan was used by Vignola in the Church of Il Gesu in Rome, which became a model for Baroque architects, the combination of a dome and two towers above the main front was used in Francesco Borromini's Church of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona in Rome, while Pietro da Cortona's Churches of Sts. Martina e Luca and S. Carlo al Corso in Rome feature volutas around the lantern on top of the dome. In contrast, the composition of St. Joseph's, particularly the centralized plan and linear decoration represents the purely Neo-Classical approach to the design of ecclesiastical buildings.

¹⁰³ Michael J. Wilson. The English Country House and its Furnishings. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. 1977, p.67.

The designs for St.Joseph's were in the forefront of the development of European architecture. Indeed, one of the closest parallels to St.Joseph's is the design for the church for the city of Chaux, produced by Ledoux in 1782, which is considered an embodiment of the most advanced architectural ideas of the time (Plate 27).¹⁰⁴ Ledoux's church features a low cupola, simplicity of volumes and the plan based on the pure geometrical forms, that makes it comparable to St.Joseph's.

Neo-Classicism was an international style developed in the process of communication between architects and transfer of ideas between different countries. L'vov's designs represent an outstanding exercise in making a new style rooted in the European theory and practice, but adapted to the Russian requirements.

The designs for St.Joseph's represent a compilation of various sources, the most important being the treatise of Vitruvius, the Palladianism of Quarenghi, the designs produced in the Academy of Parma and the peculiar combination of the Greek, Roman and Palladian motifs introduced to Russian architecture by Cameron. Such a combination of influences reflects the nature of L'vov's creativity and demonstrates his ability to draw ideas from wide ranging sources and synthesize them into a unified and harmonic whole. The analysis of St.Joseph's represents those influences that would produce a significant impact

¹⁰⁴ A.Vidler. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1990, pp.268-272.

on L'vov's further development as an architect. St. Joseph's is also an example of the co-operation between L'vov and Adam Menelaws that would become a normal practice.

The influence of St. Joseph's designs is found in several structures. For example, the church in the village of Pereslegino in Torzhok region is remarkably similar to St. Joseph's: the plan, the progression from the Doric portico on the facade to the Ionic order in the interior and the structure of the cupola are identical in both buildings.¹⁰⁵ So far, no document relating either to the authorship or to the chronology of the church has been found. However, it is possible to suggest a participation of L'vov or Menelaws in building of this church, because there is a considerable number of structures, which can be attributed to both architects in Torzhok and the area around that city.

The double-shelled cupola shown in the designs for St. Joseph's was probably imitated in the church of Golitsyn hospital in Moscow, built by Matvei Kazakov from 1796 until 1801. The cupola of Kazakov's church consists of two shells, the inner one has an oculus and the outer cupola has windows in the sides. (Plate 28) Simultaneously with the construction of the hospital, Kazakov worked together with L'vov and Menelaws on the building of a new Kremlin Palace according to L'vov's design.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the collaboration

¹⁰⁵ The church in Pereslegino was 'rediscovered' during a fieldtrip undertaken by a group of members of the 'Society of the study of Russian country estates' in 1995. The examination of the church has been complicated by the remoteness of the site from the main roads.

¹⁰⁶ M.V. Budilina et al. op.cit., p.26. On 4th of May 1797, Menelaws on request of L'vov was given a rank of tituliarnyi sovetnik (Titular Counselor, the ninth in the Table of Ranks) for his

between the three architects influenced Kazakov's design for the dome of Golitsyn hospital.

The influence of St. Joseph's is also apparent in the church designed by Adrean Zakharov for the Rural Upbringing Settlement (Sel'skoe vospitatel'noe poselenie) near Gatchina in 1808. (Plates 29-31) This philanthropic boarding institution organized for the training of people of the lower classes was a development of the concept of L'vov's School of Earth Construction in Moscow and the School of Agriculture near Pavlovsk, in which both L'vov and Menelaws worked, set up at the end of the 1790s. The centralized plan of Zakharov's church with a semicircular apse on the east end and a rectangular block on the west, the low cupola, the sparse decoration of the facade, the Doric order in the exterior and the baseless Doric half-columns in the porticoes on the north and south sides indicate that Zakharov might have used the designs for St. Joseph's as a source of ideas.¹⁰⁷ Both L'vov and Zakharov were employed by the Tsar Paul I in Gatchina at the end of the eighteenth century and certainly knew each other's work, that will be discussed in chapter IV.¹⁰⁸

work in Moscow on the construction of the Kremlin Palace and Slobodskoi Palace, which belonged to Bezborodko. This rank should have allowed Menelaws to enter the estate of nobility.

¹⁰⁷ Zakharov's designs are reproduced in: G.G.Grimm. Arkhitektori Andreian Zakharov. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo. (Architect Andreian Zakharov. Life and Creative Works). Moscow:

Gosudarstvennoe arkhitekturnoe izdatel'stvo Akademii Arkhitektury SSSR. 1940. Neither a cross-section of the church nor its inner view has been published. The whereabouts of the designs are unknown.

¹⁰⁸ V.Makarov, A.Petrov. Gatchina. Leningrad: Iskusstvo. 1974, p.13.

Zakharov might also have seen the designs for St.Joseph's in the Academy of Arts, in which he had a position of a professor of architecture. L'vov presented engraved facade and plan of St.Joseph's to the Council of the Academy and received a honorary membership in 1785.¹⁰⁹ In fact, L'vov succeeded in making his first architectural project known to wide public: for instance, the translation of Petitot's book on perspective with a picture of St.Joseph's on the cover was available to students at schools and at the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg.¹¹⁰ He also distributed the designs of the Cathedral among his acquaintances, for example, one set of designs was presented to a certain Dmitrii Ivanovich Alymov.¹¹¹

It is possible to consider the engraved designs for St.Joseph's a manifesto of the architect. The success of the first major project along with the patronage of Catherine and Bezborodko helped L'vov to secure a constant flow of commissions. L'vov was also recognized to be the foremost architect in his native Torzhok: from the beginning of the 1780s, a large number of buildings both in the city and the surrounding area were executed to L'vov's designs. L'vov must have been recognized as an architect capable of expressing the ideas of the 'Greek Project' in his designs, the task also entrusted to Cameron. The relationship between the ideas of the two architects is best represented in

¹⁰⁹ An extract from the memorandum of the council of the Imperial Academy of Arts of the 3rd of November 1785. RGIA, fond 789, opis 1, chast' 1, N947, page 1.

¹¹⁰ List of L'vov's books, the publication of which was funded by the Government. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 114, p.8 reverse.

¹¹¹ The designs are kept in Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Moscow.

L'vov's next important ecclesiastical project: the Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb in Torzhok.

CHAPTER I, PART I, SECTION II

TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE VILLA ROTONDA: THE CATHEDRAL OF
STS.BORIS AND GLEB, TORZHOK

In 1785, L'vov designed the Cathedral in Torzhok, consecrated to Sts.Boris and Gleb, the first Russian Christian martyrs. (Plate 32) It is possible to suggest that the commission to design the Cathedral in Torzhok was granted to L'vov by Catherine. The Empress laid the foundation stone of the building in 1785. L'vov was present at the ceremony and wrote in a letter to his friend and patron Count Alexander Vorontsov: 'On the way back <from Moscow>, Her Majesty deigned to lay the foundation of my Cathedral and here, at the ceremony, <she> favoured me with a conversation of a few words.'¹¹² The construction of the building was supervised by Menelaws, who completed the work in 1796.¹¹³

The Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb in Torzhok represents an essential step in the development of L'vov's architecture, that is revealed by its comparison with St.Joseph's.

St.Joseph's was a synthesis of the basilica type of plan, characterized by the distribution of architectural volumes along the east-west axis, and the central cuboid block, which dominated the composition. The concept of the main section

¹¹² N.A.L'vov. *Izbrannye sochineniia*. op.cit., p.327. The letter was written on 26th of July 1785. Here, L'vov also mentioned Bezborodko, who arrived at Torzhok together with the Empress and the court.

¹¹³ A letter to L'vov from Menelaws, received on 20th of February 1803. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N112, p.23, reverse; M.V.Budilina et al. op.cit., p.20.

of St.Joseph's was developed in the Cathedral in Torzhok: it is square in plan and its central space approximating the shape of an octagon. (Plates 33, 34)

The dimensions of the Cathedral in Torzhok are greater than those of its counterpart in Mogilev. The second storey was added in the interior of Sts.Boris and Gleb's and the narrow corridors behind the pylons of St.Joseph's were substituted by more spacious oval and octagonal volumes.

The opposite facades of Sts.Boris and Gleb's are identical. The entrance and the altar fronts are decorated with loggias, which have two free standing columns, while the north and south sides have hexastyle porticoes. The exterior of the Cathedral is ornamented with Doric friezes in the porticoes, string courses and projections above the doors, that is reminiscent of the limited decorative scheme of the facades of St.Joseph's. The walls inside the Cathedral were faced with coloured stucco and the cupola was ornamented with a pattern of coffers.¹¹⁴

In the Cathedral in Torzhok, L'vov did not use the concept of progression. For example, both the exterior and interior of the building are decorated with plain Roman Doric columns resting on bases.

¹¹⁴ The icons for both Cathedrals were produced by L'vov's protégé Vladimir Borovikovskii, who painted thirty seven images for Sts.Boris and Gleb's in 1790-1792. The iconostasis by Borovikovskii was removed during the refurbishment of the Cathedral in 1839-1846. M.V.Budilina. op.cit., p.125.

In contrast to St. Joseph's, the Cathedral of Sts. Boris and Gleb is topped by five cupolas. The main dome has only one shell and rests on the octagonal drum, which is the extension of the pylons and arches of the main space of the building, increased high up above the roof level. The longer walls of the drum have large tripartite windows. Such openings were made in the pediments of the north and south porches of St. Joseph's. The four smaller cupolas of Sts. Boris and Gleb's have the triple-shelled structure similar to the dome of the Cathedral in Mogilev.

The octagonal dome combined with tripartite windows was introduced by Palladio's disciple Vincenzo Scamozzi in the villa Rocca Pisani, the design for which appeared in the L'idea della architettura universale, published in 1615 (Parte Prima, Lib. Terzo, Cap. XIII. 273). The tripartite windows were also used by Scamozzi in the cupola of the villa Molini. Both Scamozzi's villas are considered to be sources of inspiration for Chiswick house, which features the octagonal dome with four thermal windows in the drum.¹¹⁵ (Plate 35) In fact, the cupola of Chiswick house is the closest parallel to that of the Cathedral in Torzhok. L'vov might have seen an illustration of Chiswick House, which was included in the edition of The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry produced by W. Watts in 1781, since Quarenghi possessed a copy of this publication.¹¹⁶ Although there is not enough evidence to suggest any direct source of inspiration

¹¹⁵ John Harris. The Palladian Revival. Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick. Catalogue of the exhibition published in association with Yale University Press. New Haven and London. 1994, p.134.

¹¹⁶ W. Watts. The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, 1781, plate XXX; P. Angelini. op.cit., p.204.

for the cupola of Sts.Boris and Gleb's, these parallels demonstrate that the dome of the Cathedral in Torzhok also has a Palladian 'pedigree'.

Both L'vov's Cathedrals were designed as visual landmarks in the surrounding area. The Cathedral in Mogilev was the central building on the large square. Sts.Boris and Gleb's was erected in the monastery of the same name situated on a steep bank of the river Tvertsa. The building still remains one of the major monuments of the city. The Cathedral in Torzhok is engaged in active visual relationship with its setting. For example, the Cathedral seems more solid and monumental, if one looks at it from the other lower bank of the river, since the building appears on the top of a hill and the 'image' of the structure is created by the massive east wall with few openings. (Plate 36) In contrast, the north facade of Sts.Boris and Gleb's, decorated with a hexastyle portico gives an impression of more variety and lesser heaviness, because of the greater number of articulations of the wall, created by the columns. If the viewer observes the Cathedral from the elevated point situated on a hill next to the north side of the monastery, the sense of the domination of the building in its setting decreases. (Plate 37).

The comparison between the Cathedrals of St.Joseph's and Sts.Boris and Gleb's demonstrates that both buildings have much in common, particularly such Palladian characteristics, as the symmetry of plan, the cuboid central volume, thermal windows and restrained decorative scheme. However, such 'experimental' features of St.Joseph's, as the use of the Greek Doric and the 'progression' from the entrance to the altar do not occur in the Cathedral in

Torzhok. The triple-shelled structure was used only in the small domes of Sts.Boris and Gleb's, while the central cupola obtained the form similar to an octagon.

Palladian ideas used by L'vov in St.Joseph's were further elaborated in Sts.Boris and Gleb's. However, in contrast to St.Joseph's, the Cathedral in Torzhok has an obvious Palladian predecessor, namely the villa Rotonda built in the outskirts of Vicenza in 1565/6-1569.¹¹⁷ (Plate 38)

The square symmetrical plan, the temple porticoes combined with the cupolas, the clear outlines of the cuboid volume of the building and simple decoration are the characteristics of both Sts.Boris and Gleb's and the Rotonda. The similarity is emphasized by the fact, that both the villa Rotonda and the Cathedral in Torzhok are situated on a height near the river and present different impressions when observed from various points of view.¹¹⁸

One of the difference between the Rotonda and Sts.Boris and Gleb's is that the former stands in the rural setting, while the latter is situated in the townscape. However, the idea of the use of the Rotonda-type composition in the city does not contradict the concept of Palladio. Thus, the Rotonda is analyzed together with the town-houses in the second book of the Quattro libri, because of its close

¹¹⁷ Caroline Constant. The Palladio guide. London: The Architectural Press. 1988, p.107.

¹¹⁸ On the relationship between the villa Rotonda and its setting, see: C.Semenzato. The Rotonda of Andrea Palladio. Corpus Palladianum. vol.I. University Park & London: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1968, pp.22-24.

proximity to Vicenza, whence, as Palladio remarked, 'it may be said to be in the very city'.¹¹⁹

The composition of the villa, designed for habitation, was used by L'vov for an ecclesiastical building. This does not seem to conflict with Palladio's ideas either. The Rotonda, commissioned by Paolo Almerico, a papal prelate, was devised as a symbolic synthesis of the concepts of a dwelling and a temple. For example, the allusions to the sacred architecture of the ancients are evident in the use of the temple porticoes on the facades and the round central hall, which is reminiscent of the Pantheon. The cupola is also a typical motif of the Christian ecclesiastical buildings. At a more sophisticated level, the combination in the design of such symbolic geometric forms, as the square and the circle, as well as the use of the harmonic ratios in the proportions of the structure reflect humanistic understanding of the building as a microcosm, which represents the divine order of the universe.¹²⁰

Moreover, L'vov emphatically expressed the ecclesiastical character of the Cathedral by means of the use of five cupolas. This is a traditional feature of the Orthodox and particularly Russian religious architecture, which is completely alien to Palladio. The five cupolas symbolize the dominance of the God's power supported by the authority of the four evangelists.

¹¹⁹ Palladio. op.cit., p.41.

¹²⁰ R. Wittkower. Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism. op.cit., pp.107-113.

The idea of the combination of the Palladian composition and the Orthodox scheme of five cupolas was derived by L'vov from Cameron, who introduced such an arrangement in the Cathedral of St.Sophia. (Plate 39) Cameron's Cathedral has not been considered in the context of Palladian and traditional Russian architecture by Shvidkovsky in his recent study of Cameron.¹²¹ Shvidkovsky focused his investigation on the authorship and the history of construction of the building. He linked Cameron's design with that of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople by pointing out a similarity between the interior views of the cupolas of the both Cathedrals. However, Shvidkovsky has not demonstrated that the Neo-Classical imitations of the Hagia Sophia produced for Catherine the Great by L'vov and Cameron were intended to recreate the image of that Byzantine prototype by means of a combining the features of Orthodox, Roman and Palladian architecture rather than by imitating a singular motif of the Cathedral in Constantinople. (See also section III of this chapter)

Cameron's Cathedral is a cuboid volume, decorated with the porticoes of the Doric order. Both L'vov and Cameron used the same number of columns in the exterior, which equals sixteen, though in different combinations. Cameron grouped them in the four identical tetrastyle porticoes, while L'vov, as it has already been pointed out, arranged the columns either in six on the north and south fronts or in pairs on the east and west facades. In both Cathedrals, the simple rectangular windows are placed in the arched recessions by the sides of the porticoes, the walls are ornamented only with string courses and the

¹²¹ Dimitri Shvidkovsky. *The Empress & The Architect*. op.cit., pp.108-112.

entablature, the columns are not fluted, the frieze in the porticoes is decorated with trygliphs, while the metopes are left unadorned. The small domes, situated above the corners of the both buildings, are identical in the external appearance: they are circular in plan, helmet-shaped and have round windows.

The similarity of the two structures is also evident not only from the artistic point of view, but also in some technical aspects of the construction. For example, their columns are made of brick and have inclusions of stone slabs at various levels throughout the height.

Both Cameron's and L'vov's Cathedrals are situated in the urban landscape and play an important visual role in the surrounding area. The Cathedral designed by Cameron stands in the central square of the city of Sophia and dominates the less conspicuous buildings in its setting.

It is essential to consider the Cathedral of St.Sophia in the context of the British Palladian revival in order to assess the degree of traditionalism and innovation of Cameron's design. The architect in his interpretation of the Rotonda, might have followed the well-known British examples, such as Mereworth in Kent, ca.1721-22, by Colen Campbell, Chiswick House near London, ca.1724, by Lord Burlington, Nuthall Temple, Nottinghamshire, ca.1754 (destroyed), attributed to Thomas Wright, and Foots Cray Place, ca.1754, attributed either to Isaac Ware or

Matthew Brettingham.¹²² (Plates 40-43) Although the degree of dependence of these structures on the Rotonda varies, all of them feature the basic traits of the famous villa, such as a symmetrical plan, a main cuboid volume, the use of temple porticoes, a cupola above the main hall, limited decoration of the exterior and the dominating position of the building in the setting. The Cathedral of St.Sophia possesses all these qualities. However, Cameron not just followed, but also developed the tradition.

First of all, he introduced the Doric order in the exterior of St.Sophia's, despite the fact, that the porticoes of the Rotonda are Ionic, while the British imitations of the villa are decorated either with Ionic, such as Mereworth and Fooks Cray Place, or Corinthian columns, such as Chiswick House and Nuthall Temple. Secondly, Cameron made the Cathedral the central landmark of the city, whereas the Rotonda and its British interpretations were designed as suburban villas. Lastly, and most importantly, the purpose of the building was changed: the villa was turned into the Cathedral. It has been pointed out above, that such a conceptual shift was not at variance with the idea of the Rotonda, which was devised as a combination of the habitation and the temple. Nevertheless, Cameron's idea seems to be very original, particularly against the background of the British descendants of the Rotonda, such as Mereworth and Fooks Gray, which were adapted to the traditional requirements of the English domestic architecture by introduction of the long halls.

¹²² Stanford Anderson. 'Matthew Brettingham the Younger, Fooks Gray Place, and the Secularization of Palladio's Villa Rotonda in England'. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians. Vol.53, No.4, Dec.1994, pp. 428-447.

By means of the synthesis of the Palladian and Orthodox motifs Cameron achieved two aims. Firstly, he responded to the requirements of Catherine's commission and symbolically expressed the ideas of the 'Greek Project'. Secondly, the Empress should also have been pleased to see in the Cathedral an embodiment of the advanced Palladian taste. Cameron's idea also reflected a tendency, which had already been established in Russian architecture, to include traditional elements in the framework of the structures, designed in the forms of the fashionable Western styles. For example, Cameron might have been inspired by the church of the Palace at Tsarskoe Selo, built three decades earlier by Bartolomeo Rastrelli in the forms of the Baroque style and crowned with five domes. (Plate 44) Georg Velten, the rival of Cameron, combined the five cupolas and the Neo-Gothic decoration in the church of St. John the Baptist, erected in 1777-1780 next to the Chesme Palace, situated near the road from St. Petersburg to Tsarskoe Selo. (Plate 45)

The Empress herself might have instructed L'vov to imitate St. Sophia's, since Cameron's idea to combine the forms of the villa Rotonda and traditional Russian churches symbolically emphasised the universal significance of Russian Orthodoxy, thereby elevating the status of Catherine's Empire. From the point of view of publicity, the location of Sts. Boris and Gleb's was as convenient as that of St. Sophia's: Torzhok and the city of Sophia were situated on the main road from St. Petersburg to Moscow and most people travelling between the two capitals could have seen both Cathedrals.

The city of Sophia had a special significance as the headquarters of the Order of St.Vladimir, established by Catherine in 1782 as a part of her efforts to reorganise Russian society in order to prepare it to fulfil her 'Greek Project'.¹²³ The dedication of the Order to the first Russian Christian Prince, who baptised the Russians in the Greek faith, indicated an important role that the Order was to play in the 'Greek Project'. According to the statute of the Order, its council was assigned a house in the city of Sophia, in which the archive, the seal and the treasury were kept, while Cameron's Cathedral became the religious centre of the knights.¹²⁴ L'vov was involved in the activities of the Order since its foundation: for instance, he was commissioned by the Empress to design the sign of the Order of St.Vladimir in 1782.¹²⁵ The next year, L'vov produced the programme for the full length portrait of Catherine as the patroness of the Order painted by his friend Dmitrii Levitskii and acquired by Bezborodko, who was among the first to become a knight of St.Vladimir.¹²⁶ The architect himself,¹²⁷ his most important patrons, such as Alexander Viazemskii, Alexander and Semion Vorontsov, Piotr Zavodovskii, Alexei Razumovskii, Piotr Bakunin, Piotr Soimonov and Piotr Lopukhin, his friend the poet Gavriil Derzhavin, all of whom were prominent statesmen, belonged to the Order. The significance of the

¹²³ Sergei Kuznetsov. Neizvestnyi Levitskii. Portretnoe iskusstvo zhivopitsa v kontekste peterburgskogo mifa. (Unknown Levitskii. The Art of Portraiture of the Painter in the Context of the Myth of Petersburg). St.Petersburg: Logos. 1996, p.60.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p.136.

¹²⁵ Fiodor L'vov. op.cit., p.369.

¹²⁶ Sergei Kuznetsov. op.cit., pp.54-58 (the analysis of the portrait of Catherine), pp.145-151 (the list of the senior knights of the Order).

Order in Catherine's political schemes may have been one of the reasons for L'vov to imitate St.Sophia's in the design for Sts.Boris and Gleb's.

The villa Rotonda type of composition used by Cameron for the Orthodox Cathedral exercised a significant influence on the development of the ecclesiastical architecture in Russia. The ideological content successfully expressed through the architecture of St.Sophia's may well have been a major reason for other architects to adopt Cameron's design, particularly its main feature: the cuboid volume surmounted with five cupolas.

For instance, the church of St.Martin the Confessor built in Moscow by Rodion Kazakov from 1792 until 1796 probably embodies the idea of the unification of the Catholic and Orthodox powers in the struggle against the infidels and represents another monument to the 'Greek Project'. (Plate 46) The church must have been dedicated to St.Martin I, the last pope to have been venerated as a martyr in both Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches, who died in 655 in Chersonesus in the Crimea.¹²⁸ It is possible to suggest that the church of

¹²⁷ L'vov's titles and decorations are mentioned in his official papers, for instance, the certificates of the School of Earth Construction of 1803, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, p.287, reverse.

¹²⁸ J.N.D.Kelly. The Oxford Dictionary of Popes. Oxford. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986, pp.74-75. There seems to be no reason to believe that the church was dedicated to the little-known pope Martin III, as it has been recently stated by Yu.N.Gerasimov, P.V.Panukhin and D.O.Shvidkovskii in the chapter on 'Moscow ensembles of the Classical epoch' in: Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvy XV-nachala XX vekov. Printsipy khudozhestvennogo edinstva. (Architectural Ensembles of Moscow. Principles of Artistic Unity). Ed. by Professor T.F.Savarenskaia. Moscow: Stroiizdat, 1997, p.232. It is unlikely that Martin III, whose pontificate was undistinguished and who was not canonised, would have been chosen as the

St.Martin the Confessor was designed to commemorate the annexation of the Crimea accomplished in 1783. The 'liberation' of Chersonesus, where the pope was originally buried, was probably seen as a step towards the fulfillment of the sacred purpose of returning Constantinople and eventually the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem to the Christians. The design for the church was approved by Metropolitan Platon, who was the highest church official in Moscow and thoroughly knowledgeable in the field of the Russian politics. For instance, Platon was entrusted to deliver a sermon in the Cathedral of Sts.Peter and Paul in St.Petersburg on the occasion of the decisive Russian naval victory over the Turks near Chesme Bay in the Aegean Sea in 1770.¹²⁹ In 1780, Platon met Joseph II in Moscow¹³⁰, and in 1782, Platon joined the Empress at the ceremony of laying the foundation of the church.

The motif of five cupolas, four of which are located above the corners of the cuboid structure and lit through circular windows, indicates that the church of St.Martin the Confessor belongs to the type developed by Cameron. However, the form of the central dome decorated with Corinthian columns alternating with tall windows as well as the Roman Doric porticoes on the facades seem to have been inspired by Starov's Cathedral of the Trinity in the Alexander Nevskii

patron saint of the church. In contrast, the cult of St.Martin I was probably related to that of his contemporary and ally in theological disputes Maximus the Confessor, that explains the dedication of the church. The biography of Maximus the Confessor is given in: John J.Delaney. Dictionary of Saints. Kaye & Ward Ltd. 1982, p.400.

¹²⁹ The sermon was published in London in 1771. Sermon prêché sur la tombe de Pierre le Grand le lendemain du jour que l'on reçut à St.Petersbourg la nouvelle de la victoire navale remportée sur la flotte turque.

¹³⁰ Yu.N.Gerasimov et al. 'Moscow ensembles of the Classicism epoch'. op.cit., pp.231-232.

Monastery in St.Petersburg, the design of which was influenced by the models of Italian, i.e. Catholic ecclesiastical architecture. Rodion Kazakov also based his design on the unmistakably Moscovite traditional 'ship' type of plan typical for the seventeenth century churches. The main block of the structure with its semicircular apse is connected by a vestibule to the bell tower on the west side of the main east-west axis. By means of such a combination of influences, Kazakov created an architectural expression of the 'Greek Project' adapted to the environment of Moscow.

Further, the concept embodied in Cameron's Cathedral appealed to Quarenghi and Starov. Quarenghi recorded St.Sophia's in one of his drawings and during the 1790s designed the Cathedrals in Novgorod-Severskii in the Ukraine and Kremenchug in New Russia, which have much in common with St.Sophia's. (Plate 47) The cuboid blocks of the buildings terminated with five cupolas reveal obvious affinity to Cameron's Cathedral. Significantly enough, Kremenchug was de facto the capital of New Russia, the territory annexed from the Turks by the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji of 1774, and the starting point of the subsequent invasion against Turkey. The concept of Orthodox domination expressed in the composition of the Cathedral was particularly appropriate for its location near the frontier of the Christian and Muslim civilisations. The idea to build a similar Cathedral in Novgorod-Severskii, the main city of one of the three Ukranian provinces (gubernia) inaugurated in 1782, may well have reflected Catherine's policy of reorganizing the Ukranian Orthodox Church and the whole province of Little Russia in order to bring it in line with the rest of her Empire. What remained of the Ukranian autonomy was crushed by the introduction of the

Statute of Local Administration in 1779, under which the administration, judicial system, military and financial institutions, social structure and the hierarchy and property of the Church were regularized.¹³¹ Catherine's attempt to establish the uniform institutional order throughout Russia was well expressed by the regularity of the Neo-Classical forms of the Cathedrals based on the single composition, though alien they may have been to local traditions.

Starov, who was entrusted to supervise the construction of St.Sophia's,¹³² also used Cameron's concept as his source for the Cathedral of the Mother of God designed in 1796 for Kazan, a Muslim enclave on the Volga a thousand kilometres east of Moscow. (Plates 48, 49) The Cathedral in Kazan is square in plan and topped by five cupolas. The building is an example of the adaptation by Starov of the Neo-Classical centralised type of structure as opposed to his earlier use of the Baroque composition in the Cathedral of the Trinity in St.Petersburg.

The influence of St.Sophia's and Sts.Boris and Gleb's extends into the nineteenth century. Carlo Rossi (1775/1777-1849) was an apprentice at the workshop of the Italian architect Vincenzo Brenna at Pavlovsk until 1795 and observed Cameron's St.Sophia's, which he subsequently imitated in the almost identical designs for a Cathedral in Torzhok, 1811, and the Khristovozdvizhenskii (Ascension of Christ) Cathedral in Tver, 1813-1820.¹³³ (Plate 50) From 1806

¹³¹ Isabel de Madariaga. Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great. op.cit., pp.308-315.

¹³² Galina K.Kozmian. op.cit., p.100.

¹³³ Marianna Z. Taranovskaia. Karl Rossi. Arkhitekt. Gradostroitel', Khudozhnik. (Carlo Rossi. Architect. Builder of Cities. Artist). Leningrad: Stroiizdat. 1980, p.9, 20-22.

until 1814, Rossi supervised extensive construction works in Tver and its region and may also have seen Sts.Boris and Gleb's. Both Cathedrals built by Rossi feature the square plan, the five cupolas and the Doric porticoes.

The analysis of the Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb exemplifies further development of L'vov's Palladianism. It reveals the indirect influence of British Palladians, which was due to L'vov's growing awareness of the work of Cameron. The most important concept developed in the Cathedral was the use of the Neo-Palladian villa form, which would determine the composition of many L'vov's villas and country houses. (See chapter II, part II)

CHAPTER I, PART I, SECTION III

THE ORTHODOX PANTHEON:

THE CATHEDRAL OF THE KAZAN MOTHER OF GOD, ST. PETERSBURG

L'vov's most significant ecclesiastical structure should have been the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God designed for St. Petersburg between 1787 and 1791¹³⁴ but never built. (Plate 51) The Cathedral should have become a major Neo-Classical monument in the heart of the city, on Nevskii Prospekt, about a mile away from the Winter Palace. The Cathedral was to contain one of the most venerated relics in the Empire - the miraculous Icon of the Kazan Mother of God, which was revered as the image of the Divine protection of the dynasty of the Romanovs. The icon was believed to have been taken by volunteers headed by Kuz'ma Minin and Prince Dimitri Pozharskii from the city of Kazan on the Volga to Moscow during the Polish occupation in 1612 and provided the heavenly support to Russian troops. The icon transferred to St. Petersburg by Peter the Great was kept in the wooden church of the Nativity of the Virgin constructed during the 1730s by Mikhail Zemtsov on the site which was subsequently allotted for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. During the Palace coup in June 1762, Catherine was proclaimed the sovereign and her son Paul as heir to the throne in that church and, therefore, the idea to renovate it was particularly meaningful to the Empress.¹³⁵ Catherine probably granted the commission to L'vov and influenced the ideological underpinning of the

¹³⁴ M.V.Budylna et al., op.cit., p.21.

¹³⁵ N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., p.123; Isabel de Madariaga, Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great. op.cit., p.30.

project.¹³⁶ The religious significance, the public function and the prominent location of the proposed building determined the conceptual importance of the design.

It was L'vov's first design for an ecclesiastical building to have been realised in a wooden model, that put his work on a par with the most important architectural commissions of the late eighteenth century in Russia, such as the Kremlin Palace by Bazhenov, Starov's Cathedral of the Trinity and Cameron's Cathedral of St.Sophia, which were first executed as models intended for the presentation to the Empress, the Academy of Arts and the public.¹³⁷

Alongside the features inspired by his previous works, L'vov's design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God contains several motifs which were innovative for both Russian and West European architecture. His concept of architectural form as a potent manifestation of the state ideological programme was elaborated both in St.Joseph's and Sts.Boris and Gleb's and culminated in the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. All those designs glorify Catherine's Empire and symbolically express her idea of the 'Greek Project'. Significantly enough, L'vov produced the designs for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God during the second Russian-Turkish war, which lasted from 1787 until 1791.

¹³⁶ The designs for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God produced for the presentation to the Empress and accompanied with L'vov's notes were kept in the Museum of the History of St.Petersburg in Peter and Paul fortress. However, they are misplaced. The designs and quotes from L'vov's text are partly reproduced in: M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., pp.129-130; N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., pp.121-126.

Two meaningful motifs, the Greek cross in the plan and the Pantheon type rotunda, are ingeniously combined in the Cathedral. The cruciform plan was uncommon for Russian Orthodox churches and must have been a reference to Catherine's 'Greek Project'. The forms of the Pantheon had been used in the design of St. Joseph's, while Sts. Boris and Gleb's has the centralised plan, which could well have been developed into the layout based on the Greek cross.

The progression in St. Joseph's was reinterpreted in the design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God: the Roman Doric order in the exterior porticoes and small Doric columns in the interior on the ground floor level are substituted by large Ionic and Corinthian columns in the two tiers of the rotunda. Thus, in the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God, the decoration of the rotunda seems to be more opulent than that of the altar. In contrast with the traditional architecture of Russian Orthodox churches, the altar is not emphasised with an apse. As with Sts. Boris and Gleb's, the central Pantheon type space was given greater significance than the altar.

The layout of L'vov's Cathedral offers an original solution to the problem of the unification of the forms of the Greek cross and the rotunda. (Plate 52) The architect abandoned the traditional structure of the crossing with four piers upholding the cupola and the system of supporting arches, which he used in both St. Joseph's and Sts. Boris and Gleb's. Instead he introduced eight piers arranged in a circle and two tiers of columns superimposed one upon another. The

¹³⁷ The model of the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God, which was kept in the Academy of Arts, was destroyed by the order of the Council of the Academy of Arts in 1868.

columns of the upper tier should have carried half of the weight of the dome.¹³⁸ By means of such an ingenious system L'vov planned to reach 21.3 metres in the diameter of the rotunda. By comparison, the width of the cupola proposed by Jacques Germain Soufflot for Ste.Geneviève was nineteen metres,¹³⁹ the diameter of dome of the Main Hall of the Senate in the Moscow Kremlin, the largest in Russia at that time, completed by Matvei Kazakov in 1787 is 24.6 meters,¹⁴⁰ while the diameter of the Roman Pantheon is twice that of the rotunda in L'vov's design. The problem of integrating the forms of a rotunda and a cruciform plan had been addressed by Neufforge, whose expertise in combining incongruous shapes is displayed in his engravings for the Recueil Elementaire d'Architecture. For instance, he published a plan for a centralised church, which is similar to that produced by L'vov.¹⁴¹ (Plate 53) However, unlike Neufforge, who added four porticoes to the rotunda, L'vov inserted the circular structure into a square, thereby emphasising the contrast of simple geometric forms, which reminds one of the main block of St.Joseph's and Sts.Boris and Gleb's.

The idea to combine a rotunda inspired by the Pantheon and a plan based on a French source was used by John Soane in one of the versions of the design for the castello d'acqua, produced during his stay in Italy from 1779 until 1780: its X shaped layout was derived from Marie-Joseph Peyre's design for Academies published in the Oeuvres d'architecture in 1765, while the central part of the

¹³⁸ M.V.Budylna. op.cit., p.129.

¹³⁹ Allan Braham. op.cit., p.78.

¹⁴⁰ Alexander V.Anisimov. Architectural Guide to Moscow. Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010 Publishers. 1993, p.31.

building, circular plan and covered with a low cupola, was based on the example of the Pantheon. Such combinations of the Italian and French sources in Soane's and L'vov's designs indicate eclectic origin of their styles.

The symbolism of the design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God is rooted in the Classical and Byzantine tradition: the four arms of the cross represent the four quarters of the earth, which is symbolised by the square plan of the main part of the building.¹⁴² The circle incorporated into the plan represents the world and the cupola signifies the vault of heaven. Similar schematic representations of the Universe had been contemplated upon by the greatest European architects: Bramante's revolutionary plan for St.Peter's, Christopher Wren's Great Model of St.Paul's and Soufflot's designs for Ste.Geneviève are all based on the Greek cross. The conservative opposition of the clerics necessitated the adaptation of those structures to the tradition of Western Christianity by means of extending the east-west axis. On the contrary, L'vov's design produced for the Orthodox church, which traditionally favoured centralised plans, would have been an unadulterated manifestation of the universal symbolism of the Greek cross. L'vov observed the church of Ste.Geneviève during his visit to Paris in 1777, he must have seen St.Peter's while staying in Rome in 1781 and probably saw St.Paul's during his trip to London as a courier in 1776.¹⁴³ The importance of the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God should have induced

¹⁴¹ Neufforge. *op.cit.*, plate 443. That print is not included into the Gatchina album.

¹⁴² Arnaldo Bruschi. *Bramante*. London: Thames & Hudson. 1977, p.148.

¹⁴³ N.A.Evsina. *op.cit.*, p.142. K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Novye dannye k biografii N.A.L'vova'. *op.cit.*, p.137.

L'vov to compare his design with those three buildings and possibly to attempt to emulate them.

The low dome ornamented with coffers on the inside and steps at its foot on the outside, the eight bays between the piers supporting the dome and decorated with pairs of columns, the continuous entablature above them and the exterior porticoes which have eight columns in the front range are derived from the Pantheon. (Plate 54) The use of both the rotunda and the portico in that ancient temple is a famous example of the unification of the most notable motifs of Roman and Greek architecture. That combination has been a source of inspiration for architects since the Renaissance up to the present day.¹⁴⁴

The Pantheon, the best preserved antique structure located in the centre of contemporary Rome, could not have escaped attention of L'vov during his stay in that city in 1781. Palladio, whose authority was indisputable to L'vov, stated in the fourth book of his treatise that the Pantheon was the most celebrated temple in Rome and illustrated it in ten plates, more than he allocated to any other building.

The Pantheon was believed by Palladio and Cameron to have been erected or rebuilt by Marcus Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, whose reign was perceived as the golden age of the Roman Empire.¹⁴⁵ The ambition of Catherine

¹⁴⁴ Carrol L.V.Meeks. op.cit., p.137.

¹⁴⁵ Palladio. op.cit., p.99; Charles Cameron. The Baths of the Romans Explained and Illustrated. With the Restorations of Palladio Corrected and Improved. To Which is Prefixed an Introductory

to liken herself to Roman rulers and to compare the glory of Russia to that of the ancient Rome found its architectural equivalent in L'vov's attempt to emulate the Pantheon. Catherine's aspirations determined the nature of her major architectural commissions, for instance, the main building of the park at Tsarskoe Selo commissioned to Charles-Louis Clérisseau in the 1770s but subsequently entrusted to Cameron should have imitated the splendour of the Imperial Rome: 'It would be appropriate to summarise the age of the Caesars, the Augustes, the Ciceros and such patrons as Maecenus and to create a building where it would be possible to find all these people'.¹⁴⁶

The use of the Pantheon as a model for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God was certainly an allusion to a deep spiritual relationship which, according to the Russian ideological doctrine, existed between Rome as the centre of Christianity and St.Petersburg. The concept of the third Rome was transformed in the eighteenth century to include St.Petersburg, the new capital consecrated to Rome's patron saint.

The Pantheon is not just the symbol of both aesthetic excellence and technical sophistication achieved by the ancient Romans. The structure also represents the triumph of Christianity over the infidels. The building is one of the oldest churches, converted from the pagan temple and consecrated to Sancta Maria ad

Preface, Pointing out the Nature of the Work. And a Dissertation upon the State of the Arts During the Different Periods of the Roman Empire. London, 1762, chapter III devoted to the baths of Agrippa, note 1. The Pantheon was rebuilt in AD 118-128 by the order of the Emperor Hadrian.

¹⁴⁶ Shvidkovsky. The Empress & The Architect. op.cit., p.45.

Martyres by the Pope Boniface IV in AD 608 by permission of the Byzantine Emperor Phocas. Thus both the church situated in the Pantheon and L'vov's Cathedral are consecrated to the Mother of God, associated with the Greek Christianity and its victory over the paganism and Islam respectively. One variant of L'vov's design has a statue of a saint or Jesus Christ holding a cross on top of the cupola, that reminds one of the classical tradition of decorating the temples with sculptures and also emphasises the supremacy of Christianity. A similar motif of an effigy representing the Resurrection on top of the rotunda had been used by L'vov for the first time in the design for the shrine of St. Joseph's.

Two bell towers above the altar and the main entrance may well have been inspired by the domed belfries on the porch of the Pantheon.¹⁴⁷ In L'vov's design, the bell towers indicate the main east-west axis of the building, which was to be located parallel to Nevskii Prospect, i.e. the main facade did not face the thoroughfare and had to be emphasised. L'vov must have known from Palladio's treatise that the belfries of the Pantheon were later additions unrelated to the original antique structure, but he nevertheless included them in one of the variants of the design for the Cathedral. L'vov might have intended to stress the interplay between the pagan and Christian origins of the design of the building, following a similar logic as did Palladio in the Tempietto Barbaro in Maser built in c.1580. The Tempietto is a rotunda combined with three chapels arranged on a Greek cross plan, while the pediment on the front is flanked by two towers. The fact that L'vov hesitated whether or not to include the bell towers in his design

¹⁴⁷ The belfries were removed from the Pantheon in 1883 or 1893. See: Carrol L.V.Meeks. *op.cit.*, p.135.

and omitted them in one of the versions, indicates his uncertainty towards the idea of the juxtaposition of the dome and the belfries, which despite its use by Palladio was firmly associated with the tradition of Baroque architecture.¹⁴⁸

L'vov's creative interpretation of the forms of the Pantheon in the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God demonstrates the Neo-Classical approach to imitating antique architecture. L'vov was far from being a copyist, on the contrary, he modified the features of his model buildings to suite his purposes and combined the motifs adopted from different sources. For example, he changed the proportions of the Pantheon by making the height of the rotunda exceed its diameter, rearranged the position of the belfries and introduced the windows and the colonnades both inside and outside the drum. A survey of buildings based on the Pantheon suggests that Neo-Classical architects 'emphasised the mass, bulk and weight' of the antique prototype.¹⁴⁹ L'vov entirely subscribed to that concept: the exterior of the Cathedral is dominated by the massive dome and

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.136. L'vov experimented with the idea of the combination of a cupola and two towers in the designs for churches in a sketch produced in Valдай on 27th of August 1786: one of the drawings depicts a rotunda surmounted with a cupola and two rectangular blocks added on the sides, each of them topped with a belfry, the other drawing illustrates a church in the form of the half of a rotunda, to which a portico with two towers on the facade is added. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N118, p.135 reverse. The former drawing may have become the point of departure for the design for the church in Stolnoe, Bezborodko's estate in the Ukraine, produced during the 1780s: the church was planned to have a Greek cross plan, it was to be decorated with a Doric portico on each facade, surmounted with a cupola and two belfries on the sides of the cross. That design was not realised, however, the idea of the cruciform plan and of the dome and two bell-towers arranged on one axis was reflected in the design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. See: M.V.Budylna et al., pp.112-113.

¹⁴⁹ Carrol L.V.Meeks. op.cit., p.136.

horizontal lines, although the columns and the bell towers add some vertical movement to the composition.

Apart from the Pantheon, L'vov's design was probably influenced by other antique sources. The uncommon motif of the two tiers of columns in the interior of the rotunda superimposed one upon the other may well have been inspired by the double ranks of columns, which originally surrounded the cella of the temple of Poseidon (Hera II) in Paestum, one of L'vov's sources of inspiration for St. Joseph's. Palladio's illustration of the interior of the temple of Jupiter, 'the greatest and most adorned temple that was in Rome', could well have provided L'vov with an example of a Corinthian colonnade superimposed upon an Ionic colonnade.¹⁵⁰ The frieze between the two tiers of columns in the Cathedral is decorated with festoons, which are not dissimilar to the exterior ornaments of the Temple of Sibyl in Tivoli and the mausoleum of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way in Rome. The use of the arches divided by double Ionic columns on the exterior of the cupola is based on a characteristic motif of ancient Roman architecture. For instance, the second tier on the facade of the Coliseum is decorated with the combination of arches and single Ionic columns.

The motif of the arched windows separated by buttresses in the dome of the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople built by the order of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian in the sixth century may have been another source of inspiration for L'vov's design of the cupola. (Plate 55) The fact that the apertures

¹⁵⁰ Palladio op.cit., fourth book, chapter XIII, pp.92-93, plate XXVII.

and massive buttresses of the medieval Cathedral in Constantinople were substituted by L'vov with the elegant Roman arches and columns represents him as a typical Neo-Classical architect ready to experiment with the heritage and to emulate the models of the past. The centralised plan, the low external profile of the cupola, the monumentality of form in the exterior and the vast central space in the interior of Hagia Sophia also remind one of the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. Significantly enough, the idea to emulate the Pantheon may also have occurred to Justinian, who considered Constantinople as New Rome.¹⁵¹

L'vov must have seen reproductions of Hagia Sophia, which was a central image in the ideology of the 'Greek Project', as it was demonstrated by the commission of the Empress to Cameron to reproduce that Cathedral near her main residence in Tsarskoe Selo. Cameron's St.Sophia's was being completed at the same time as L'vov designed the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. Hagia Sophia was constructed in the European part of Constantinople and converted into a mosque by Turks in the fifteenth century, that made it a potent symbol of the European Christianity oppressed by the Asian Islam, the situation which Catherine hoped to reverse. Hagia Sophia is particularly important for the emergence of Russian Orthodoxy: the overwhelming impression which according to the Primary Russian Chronicle was produced by the liturgy in the Cathedral on the emissaries of Prince Vladimir of Kiev influenced his decision to adopt the Eastern Christianity for Kievan Rus in 988.¹⁵² Churches inspired by the Cathedral in

¹⁵¹ Rowland J. Mainstone. Hagia Sophia. Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church. Thames and Hudson, 1988, pp.9, 21, 152.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp.11, 240.

Constantinople were built in major Russian cities, for instance, the Cathedrals of Hagia Sophia in Kiev and Novgorod, both constructed in the eleventh century. It is, therefore, possible to suggest that L'vov's concept of the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God was influenced by the idea of the recreation of Hagia Sophia.

One illustration to Catherine's play The Initial Governing of Oleg (Nachal'noe upravlenie Olega) probably produced by L'vov demonstrates that the image of Constantinople was reconstructed according to the norms of Palladian architecture and examples of ancient Roman buildings.¹⁵³ (Plate 56) The picture represents Russian Prince Oleg accompanied by Byzantine Emperor Leo and Empress Zoia at the hippodrome in Constantinople. L'vov depicted a plaza flanked by Corinthian colonnades and decorated with a structure in the middle which reminds one of both a triumphal arch and the permanent backdrop in Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza. (Plate 57) Indeed the columns on high pedestals, reliefs and sculptures on the facade, which has a large arch in the centre and two smaller rectangular openings on the sides, indicate that L'vov

¹⁵³ (Catherine II). Nachal'noe upravlenie Olega. Podrazhanie Shakespiru, bez sokhraneniia featral'nykh obyknovennykh pravil. (The Initial Governing of Oleg. An imitation of Shakespear without maintaining the usual theatrical norms). Preceeded by: 'Ob'iasnenie na muzyku g.Sartiem sochinionnuiu dlia istoricheskogo predstavleniia: Nachal'noe upravlenie Olega' Pereviol N.L'vov. ('An explanation of the music composed by Mr.Sarti for the historic performance <entitled> the Initial Governing of Oleg. Translated by N.L'vov'. St.Petersburg, 1791. Act V, scene IV. The Library of the Russian Academy of Science. Shelfmark 1791/167 (a copy with coloured illustrations). A copy of the book, now kept in the library of the museum in Alupka in the Crimea, was presented to Count Semion Vorontsov by L'vov, whose inscription indicates that L'vov produced vignettes for the book. See: I.Kh.Rechitskii. "'Russkaia plianska" A.N.Olenina-

based his design on Palladio. A column depicted in the background of his illustration is decorated with a spiral line and surmounted with a statue that reminds one of Trajan's Column in Rome, which was originally topped with an effigy of the Emperor whose military feats are documented in a continuous spiral relief on the shaft of the column. A temple portico situated on the main axis of a piazza flanked by colonnades was a standard arrangement of Roman Fora, for instance, the Forum of Nerva described by Palladio, who also pointed out that the Emperor Constantine intended to reproduce the Forum of Nerva in Constantinople.¹⁵⁴ For L'vov, Palladio's statement could have provided justification of his attempts to reconstruct the architectural image of Constantinople as the second Rome.

Catherine's play expresses her concept of the 'Greek Project'. The Empress chose the story of Oleg's victorious campaign against Constantinople of 904-907, which ended in the conclusion of a treaty humiliating for the Greeks who were forced to pay a tribute to the Russians and to endow them with tax and trade privileges. However, Catherine stressed the non-violent outcome of Oleg's raid, which according to her play culminated in a grand celebration at the hippodrome featuring a performance of a Greek tragedy and sports games; she also pictured Oleg developing amicable relations with Byzantine Emperor. The shield which Oleg leaves in Constantinople as a symbol of the Russian military might and a reminder to the posterity of his victory is oddly decorated with an image of

N.A.L'vova' ('"Russian Dance" by A.N.Olenin and N.A.L'vov'). *XVIII vek. (The Eighteenth Century)*. Collection of essays. St.Petersburg: Nauka. 1996, pp.241-248.

¹⁵⁴ Palladio. op.cit., fourth book, chapter VIII, pp.88-89, plate XI.

St. George, the crest of the Pre-Petrine Russian state. That Christian symbol could not have been used by pagan Oleg, however, its appearance clarifies Catherine's message: Russia has the right and obligation to protect Constantinople.

The monumentality of the architectural form which L'vov attempted to achieve in the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God was fully expressed by Ledoux in the Barrière de la Villette in Paris built from 1785 until 1789. That solid structure has a centralised plan, it is decorated with four porticoes and topped with a drum surrounded with arcades supported by coupled columns. (Plate 58) The comparison between the designs by L'vov and Ledoux demonstrates that the evolution of Neo-Classical forms progressed in a similar direction in different parts of Europe.

The design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God was a significant step in the development of Russian architecture. L'vov's innovative use of the uncommon combination of the cruciform plan and the Pantheon-type dome contrasted with the architectural forms of the major Cathedrals in Russia.

L'vov's design must have been compared with architectural monuments of Moscow, since the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God was to become the repository of the icon, which was brought from Moscow to St. Petersburg by Peter the Great in a symbolic act of the transfer of the spiritual power from the old to the new Russian capital. One of the main ecclesiastical buildings in Moscow is the Cathedral of the Intercession on the Moat (Vasilii the Blessed) commissioned by the Tsar Ivan the Terrible in 1555 and built by Barma and Postnik Iakovlev on

the Red Square to commemorate the subjugation of the city of Kazan taken during one of the Tsar's assaults against the Muslims. (Plate 134) Thus both L'vov's design and the Cathedral of the Intercession reflect the ambitions of the monarchs to expand Russia in the south by means of the holy war with the infidels. Significantly enough, the Cathedral of the Intercession was restored in 1784 by the order of Catherine, that may have been a sign of her appreciation of the militaristic policies pursued by Ivan the Terrible.¹⁵⁵ Both the Cathedral of the Intercession and L'vov's design belong to the tradition of centralised Orthodox churches and represent variations of the conventional Greek cross plan, which, however, was developed by L'vov into the innovative cruciform layout. Most importantly, L'vov in his design introduced one dome of large diameter instead of the combination of smaller cupolas, which was standard for Russian Orthodox Cathedrals and previously used by L'vov in Sts.Boris and Gleb's. By means of the use of the single large dome modelled on the Pantheon the architect expressed the idea of the architecture of harmony and reason, based on the antique and Renaissance examples. The creative engineering of the dome in L'vov's design must also have reflected the architect's confidence in the quality of the work of his vaulting masters, probably influenced by the co-operation with Menelaws and other Scots.

The concept of the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God was also innovative in the context of the Westernised architecture of St.Petersburg. L'vov's Cathedral

¹⁵⁵ That restoration is mentioned in L'vov's analysis of the Cathedral included in his essay on the Russian antiquities in Moscow of 1797. Published in: Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvyy XV - nachala XX vekov. op.cit., p.417.

would have been one of the first purely Neo-Classical structure in the centre of the city. Its cruciform plan contrasts with those of other major Cathedrals in St.Petersburg, for instance, Sts.Peter and Paul's built by Domenico Trezzini from 1712 until 1732 and Starov's Cathedral of the Trinity, both based on the basilical type of plan characteristic for Baroque architecture. The orderly decoration and the massive cupola of L'vov's Cathedral would have rivalled the Baroque exuberance of the Cathedral of the Resurrection built by Bartolomeo Rastrelli in the Smolnyi Convent from 1748 until 1764.

L'vov intended to use a variety of natural stones as both structural and decorative elements in the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. Although the bulk of the building was to be constructed of brick, the exterior porticoes were to be built of Pudost stone,¹⁵⁶ the socle, steps and floor surface were to be made of granite, while marble and white stone were to decorate conspicuous parts of the interior and provide the strong material for the weight carrying columns of the upper tier of the rotunda. Such wide use of the natural stone may have been inspired by Antonio Rinaldi's Marble Palace and the Palace in Gatchina, constructed for Catherine's favourite Grigorii Orlov. Andrei Voronikhin fully exploited the decorative and structural qualities of natural stone in the realised Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God built from 1800 until 1811 on the site originally proposed for L'vov's Cathedral. (Plate 59) Pudost stone was used by Voronikhin for

¹⁵⁶ Pudost stone is a type of limestone quarried near Gatchina in the environs of St.Petersburg. It is known for its softness after it has been extracted, that makes it convenient to work with, but it subsequently hardens on exposure to air and thus resists weathering.

surfacing the brick walls and in the columns and capitals on the exterior, and various details were rendered in limestone, marble and three types of granite.¹⁵⁷

Voronikhin, whose career was linked to the Academy of Arts after he was named an academician in painting in 1799, could well have seen the model of L'vov's Cathedral. It is possible to suggest that Voronikhin's ideas were influenced by the design produced by L'vov. Voronikhin followed L'vov's concept of emphasising the spiritual relationship between St.Petersburg and Rome by imitating a famous Roman building: the form of the cupola and the semicircular colonnade of Voronikhin's Cathedral are modelled on those of St.Peter's. The use of the features derived from St.Peter's and a Latin cross plan in Voronikhin's Cathedral was probably prompted by the requirements of the new client, the Tsar Paul I. Catherine's idea of the militant Orthodoxy, which was embodied in L'vov's design, did not appeal to the new monarch, who was preoccupied with the concept of the unification of the Catholic and Orthodox churches and was anxious to develop amicable relations with the Pope.¹⁵⁸

By means of the use of the semicircular colonnade Voronikhin succeeded in making a proper distinction between the entrance to the Cathedral on the west and the main facade facing Nevskii Prospekt. L'vov seems to have paid little attention to that problem, having designed the facades similar to each other and located the north portico along the line of the fronts of the houses on the

¹⁵⁷ For the discussion of Voronikhin's Cathedral, see: W.C.Brumfield. *op.cit.*, pp.349-351.

¹⁵⁸ Roderick E. McGrew. *op.cit.*, p.317.

Prospekt.¹⁵⁹ He followed the tradition of the regular arrangement of the buildings in the city, which was enforced from the beginning of the century by the order of Peter the Great.¹⁶⁰ In contrast, the north facade in Voronikhin's Cathedral flanked with the colonnades recedes from the Prospect forming a square. This solution indicates a new concept in the spatial planning of St.Petersburg, aimed at creating ensembles in the centre of the city comprising grand buildings, plazas and greenery.

The double-shelled structure of the cupola in Voronikhin's Cathedral is similar to that of St.Joseph's. It is not known whether the two architects ever met, however, Voronikhin could have seen the engravings of St.Joseph's in the Academy of Arts. The structure of the cupola designed by Voronikhin may also have been influenced by the double-shelled dome of St.Peter's and the triple-shelled dome of the church of Ste.Geneviève, which the architect probably observed during his stay in Paris at the end of the 1780s.¹⁶¹

L'vov's idea to combine the Greek cross plan with the rotunda was developed by Alexander Vitberg, a graduate of the Academy of Arts, in the designs for the memorial church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, approved in 1817.¹⁶² (Plate

¹⁵⁹ N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., p.123.

¹⁶⁰ S.S.Ozhegov. Tipovoe i povtorno stroitel'stvo v Rossii v XVIII-XIX vekah. (Standardised building designs in Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). Moscow: Stroiizdat, 1984, p.12.

¹⁶¹ W.C.Brumfield. op.cit., p.349.

¹⁶² Vitberg's design was subsequently abandoned, and the commission was transferred to Constantine Ton, who built the Cathedral in the so called Russo-Byzantine style. For more

60) Vitberg's colossal structure was to commemorate the Russian victory over Napoleon and his choice of the Greek cross plan reflected the idea of the triumphant Orthodoxy, which had been embodied by L'vov in the design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. Vitberg's idea to crown the church with a low dome on a drum surrounded with a colonnade also reminds one of L'vov's design.

The fact that despite the initial approval by Catherine, L'vov's Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God was not realised may have been due to the change of fortunes of Bezborodko, who used to recommend his projects to the Empress. From 1787 significant opposition rose to Bezborodko's domination at the court, that also hit several members of Bezborodko's circle, such as Count Alexander Vorontsov, L'vov's other influential patron.¹⁶³ The artists patronised by the secretary of the Empress seem to have been affected by the court intrigues, for instance, Dmitrii Levitskii left the Academy of Arts and had to abandon the completion of the series of portraits of the knights of St.Vladimir commissioned by Catherine. L'vov's candidacy to the position of the director of the Imperial theatres, which Bezborodko tried to secure in 1787, was dropped by the Empress. The building of the Administrative Offices in St.Petersburg to L'vov's design was halted in 1787 allegedly because of the expenses incurred in the war with Sweden, but was never resumed.¹⁶⁴ In fact, the architect did not receive any

information on Vitberg's project see: Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvyy XV - nachala XX vekov. op.cit., pp.300-302.

¹⁶³ Sergei Kuznetsov. op.cit., p.41.

¹⁶⁴ N.Nikulina. 'Zdanie 'Kabineta' - proekt arkhitektora N.A.L'vova' ('The building of the Administrative Offices - a design by the architect N.A.L'vov'). Soobscheniia Gosudarstvennogo

major commissions from the Empress during the last years of her reign and, therefore, had to concentrate on private commissions, which will be discussed in the second chapter.

Ermitazha (Proceedings from the State Hermitage), vol.X. Leningrad, 1956, p.16. That design will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

CHAPTER I, PART II

OTHER STATE COMMISSIONS FOR ST.PETERSBURG AND THE PROVINCES

The first statement of the pure Neo-Classical style in the very heart of St.Petersburg is L'vov's Nevskie Gates of the Peter-Paul fortress. (Plate 61) The design of the Nevskie Gates which was approved on 1st of November 1780 and executed by 1787 marks the start of L'vov's career as an architect.¹⁶⁵ The commission was probably secured by Bezborodko, who also promoted L'vov's design for St.Joseph's. The idea to erect the granite edifice on the place of the older Gates built in 1731 was a part of the plan of the redecoration of the central embankments of the city undertaken by the Commission for the Stone (masonry) Construction of St.Petersburg and Moscow. The Commission supervised resurfacing of the brick walls of the citadel with stone and building of the grand Palace Quay on the opposite bank of the river Neva.¹⁶⁶

The area in which L'vov had to locate his structure was dominated by famous Baroque buildings, such as the cathedral of Sts.Peter and Paul situated in the centre of the citadel and the Winter Palace across the Neva. Such ambience posed a challenging task for the architect to integrate the edifice into its Baroque environment and at the same time to emphasise the innovative Neo-Classicism of

¹⁶⁵ The designs for the Nevskie Gates are kept in the Shchusev Museum of Architecture in Moscow and the Research Museum of the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg, Papka L'vova (L'vov's file), KP100/3.

¹⁶⁶ The work of the Commission is considered by William C.Brumfield. op.cit., pp.266-267.

its style. The advanced character of L'vov's design is evident by comparison with the Peter Gates constructed by Domenico Trezzini from 1715 until 1717 as one of the entrances to the fortress. Both edifices have the function of triumphal arches commemorating the accomplishments of Peter the Great. The Peter Gates are dedicated to the victorious Northern war against Sweden completed in 1721. The structure is decorated with allegorical statues of Minerva and Bellona, the Roman goddesses of war, the relief 'The Casting down of Simon Magus by the Apostle Peter', which symbolises Peter's triumph over the Swedish King Charles XII, and other sculptural motifs. The Gates are richly ornamented with rustication, pilasters laid one upon the other, the cornice and the pediment of broken outline and the large volutes by the sides of the main relief.

In contrast, L'vov's edifice is designed as an uncompromising manifestation of the Neo-Classical principles. The structure is a monument to Russian naval power: the Gates were used during celebrations, when Peter the Great's small boat, the 'grand father' of the Russian navy, which was kept as a museum object in the fortress, was triumphantly carried through the Gates to the pier to be displayed as the first Imperial warship. In contrast to the complicated allegorical programme of Trezzini's Gates, few easily comprehensible symbols point to the function of L'vov's edifice: the bombs on the sides of the pediment, an original substitution for characteristic Neo-Classical finials, the anchor and the laurel branches in the tympanum. The architectural minimalism of the fortified wall corresponds to the simplicity of the Gates, in which L'vov used a small number of conspicuous motifs, such as four Tuscan columns, linked with large granite slabs, and the pediment. Despite its relatively small size, L'vov's edifice is a

prominent feature in its environment, since the clearly defined forms of the portico protruding from the wall are visible from a long distance.

One of the major sources for L'vov's design must have been the arch of New Holland in St.Petersburg, started in 1765 by Vallin de la Mothe, but left incomplete in the 1780s. The arch spans over a canal leading to the storage area used by the navy. The 'primitivism' of the unstuccoed facade of the structure built of brick and stone is reminiscent of the Nevskie Gates. A number of decorative motifs, such as the free standing Tuscan columns, the cornice that leads to the base of the arch and the medallions may have been borrowed by L'vov. The combination of the arch and the columns is derived from ancient Roman architecture and the illustrations in Palladio's treatise.

The comparison between L'vov's design and a project for a prison published in 1768 by the French engraver Jean-Charles Delafosse reveals how the function of a building influenced its image in the works of Neo-Classical architects. (Plate 62) The massive structure depicted by Delafosse is decorated with two pairs of Tuscan columns linked with stone slabs and supporting the architrave, which is ornamented with the motif identical to facets used by L'vov in the Nevskie Gates. L'vov must have been aware of the other intended use of the Gates, through which political prisoners interrogated in the cells of the fortress were embarked on vessels carrying them to more distant locations. Although it would be premature to suggest any direct influence of this design of Delafosse on

L'vov, it is still possible to argue that both architects intended to express the function of the prison in the massiveness of the architectural forms.¹⁶⁷

The works by Ledoux provide parallels to both St. Joseph's and the Nevskie Gates. Indeed, the rudimentary volumes and sparse ornamentation of the barrières in Paris constructed from 1780 until 1788 to Ledoux's designs, particularly the Barrière du Mont Parnasse decorated with an arch flanked on either side with two Doric columns linked with stone slabs, are not dissimilar to the Nevskie Gates. (Plate 63) The intention of Ledoux to make the exterior of the barrières 'regular, manly, and not too refined', to endow them with 'a public character' and to use 'the most severe and determined style' to prevent them from being destroyed by the immensity of spaces is similar to L'vov's concept of the Nevskie Gates.¹⁶⁸ That comparison illustrates the advanced character of L'vov's ideas and places his work in the context of the avant-garde of Western European architecture.

The analysis of the Nevskie Gates demonstrates L'vov's ability to draw from a range of sources to produce the original design. The same conclusion was arrived at after the consideration of St. Joseph's. Indeed, the concepts embodied in the designs for both structures are identical: the adaptation of the antique examples, the use of Palladian symmetry and equilibrium of parts combined with the Neo-

¹⁶⁷ L'vov was well aware of the works of Delafosse and included several of his engravings into the album now kept in Gatchina. However, the design for the prison is not included in the Gatchina album.

¹⁶⁸ A. Vidler. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. op.cit., pp.223-224.

Classical 'primitivism' of form and the proportions based on simple geometric shapes, such as the square and the circle, are characteristic for L'vov's creativity.

L'vov continued to use the vocabulary of forms and creative principles defined in his earliest structures in his subsequent designs, for instance, the building of the Main Post Office in St.Petersburg. That commission was given to L'vov by Bezborodko, who was in charge of reforming the Russian postal system.

Bezborodko also secured Catherine's approval of the design in 1782.¹⁶⁹ The supervision of the construction of the building was the first assignment given by L'vov to Walter Irving, who worked on the site from 1784 until 1786, before he was transferred to Torzhok region.¹⁷⁰

In the design for the Post Office, L'vov adapted the Palladian style for a new building type, which did not exist at the time of Palladio. L'vov's task was to draw the plan for the structure in such a way as to make it suitable to perform various functions of the Post Office: they included not just the delivery of the mail, but also the provision of the intercity carriage service. The illustrations of town houses and suburban villas in the Quattro libri influenced the layout and the facade decoration of the Post Office. In keeping with Palladio's rules, the plan of the Post Office is rectangular and arranged along the central axis; the symmetry

¹⁶⁹ N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., pp.42-43.

¹⁷⁰ Irving's application for the state pension of 8th March 1804. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N100, p.126. The Post Office was completed in 1789. The interior of the structure was refurbished on numerous occasions through nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, the facades have not been significantly altered. The original plan of the building is recorded in a late eighteenth

of the layout is nearly complete. (Plate 64) The largest part of the building is the service area, which included the main courtyard surrounded with garages for carriages, workshops, ice cellars and other utilitarian structures. It is possible to suggest that two segmental walls, situated in front of the stables on both sides of the main entrance, are an 'inverted' adaptation of the plan of the service wings of the villa of Leonardo Mocenigo illustrated in the Quattro libri. (Plate 65) Indeed, L'vov rearranged the motifs of Palladio's design, such as the rectangular courtyard, the main entrance, the circumference and the stables, in the interior of the Post Office. The other part of the structure with smaller courtyards was designed for the apartments of the employees.

L'vov's Post Office was a multi purpose building, which included dwellings for the staff, an inn for travellers, bureaux, postal services and transportation facilities. Each of those functions required different accommodation, therefore, the structures inside the main building varied in shapes and sizes, for instance, several interior blocks were of one storey. However, the complicated interior arrangement of the structure is not reflected on its three storey facades facing the streets. (Plate 66) The exterior of the building is strictly uniform: the fronts are decorated with giant Tuscan pilasters and tetrastyle porticoes above the entrances. The form of the windows and the manner in which the rustication is used on the ground floor of L'vov's structure imitates Palladio's design of the house of the Count Iseppo de Porti in Vicenza illustrated in the Quattro libri. (Plate 67) Thus the design for the Post Office embodies L'vov's idea of the

universality of Palladian ideas. The analysis of the building also demonstrates the importance of the illustrations from the Quattro libri as sources for the development of L'vov's version of Neo-Classicism.

The facade of L'vov's building may have been a critical response to the design of the Academy of Arts, which had been started by Kokorinov and Vallin de la Mothe fifteen years before, but was still under construction in the 1780s. (Plate 22) L'vov seems to have imitated the partition of the facade into the three advancing and two recessing parts, the decoration of the three storey walls with rustication on the ground floor and pilasters above, and the portico over the entrance. However, he reduced the decoration to the basic motifs, thereby expressing the utilitarian purpose of the structure and indicating the direction of the development of Neo-Classical style towards more laconic forms, that was also demonstrated in his designs for the Nevskie Gates and St. Joseph's.

L'vov contributed to the development of Russian road infrastructure by producing model designs for regional postal stations, which represented the eighteenth century equivalent of the present day highway services. Such establishments situated approximately every thirty kilometres on the busy intercity roads, such as that from St. Petersburg to Moscow, included accommodation for the warden, travellers and horse drivers, a diner, storages for grain, stables, etc. L'vov's adapted Palladio's designs published in the Quattro Libri, such as that for villa Pisani in Bagnolo, to suit the specific requirements of the postal station: the layout of the complex is rectangular and consists of the central main building, which is symmetrical in plan, and service structures

situated along the sides of the courtyard. (Plates 68, 69) The simplicity and regularity of the facade and the layout revealed the utilitarian purpose of the structures and emphasised the concept of rational organisation of the postal service promoted by Bezborodko. L'vov's designs were distributed throughout Russia and are known to have been executed in Tver and Torzhok in 1782.¹⁷¹

L'vov and Bezborodko's concept of the designs for the postal stations reflected the idea, elaborated during the second half of the eighteenth century, of the reorganisation of the architectural environment of the Russian province by introducing regular layouts to the towns and building structures to the model designs. The first major example of such an improvement was the rebuilding of the city of Tver, an administrative centre near Torzhok, after a devastating fire of 1763.¹⁷² That extensive undertaking which was supervised by Peter Nikitin assisted by Matvei Kazakov and a number of other architects,¹⁷³ must have been known to L'vov, who often travelled between the two capitals and visited his home estate situated in the same region. The concept of model designs was subsequently developed by L'vov in his project of introducing earth buildings in Russia and further elaborated by William Hastie, one of his Scots associates, who was responsible for producing model designs and town plans for Russian cities in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.144.

¹⁷² S.S.Ozhegov. op.cit., pp.50-60.

¹⁷³ W.C.Brumfield. op.cit., p.328.

The dissemination of the Neo-Classical style throughout Russia achieved by means of the introduction of the model designs was probably intended by the authorities to create an impression of uniformity in the vast and varied Empire. The Neo-Classical buildings in St.Petersburg and Moscow were visual symbols of power which controlled the country. Although L'vov's major extant works are situated outside both Russian capitals, his most ambitious projects were planned for Moscow and St.Petersburg. If all L'vov's designs produced for St.Petersburg had been realised, his influence on the creation of the Neo-Classical image of the central part of the city would have been comparable to Quarenghi's. For instance, apart from the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God, L'vov in 1787 designed a large building for the Administrative Offices (Kabinet),¹⁷⁵ which was to be situated at the beginning of Nevskii Prospekt in St.Petersburg, in the immediate vicinity of the Admiralty and the Winter Palace. (Plates 70-72) The construction was started in 1787 after Catherine's approval of the design, but the works were interrupted by the Empress in September of the same year and the money originally allocated for that project were channelled to cover the expenses incurred in a war with Sweden.¹⁷⁶ However, the project was never revived and shared the fate of the design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God, which was originally approved by the Empress but eventually cancelled, that

¹⁷⁴ For more information on Hastie and the relevant sources, see: Dimitri Shvidkovsky. The Empress & The Architect. op.cit., pp.242-245.

¹⁷⁵ That institution reorganised by Catherine in 1786 was in charge of the appointments at the service of the department of the court (pridvornoe vedomstvo), and had financial, accounting and administrative functions. M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.144; V.L.Snegiriov. Zodchii Bazhenov. 1737-1799. (Architect Bazhenov. 1737-1799). Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1962, p.121, footnote.

¹⁷⁶ N.Nikulina. 'Zdanie 'Kabineta' - proekt arkhitektora N.A.L'vova'. op.cit., p.16.

probably reflected her declining interest in supporting Bezborodko's protégé architect.¹⁷⁷

The building was designed to serve several functions and included both managerial units, such as the administration of the factories in Kolyvan in Siberia,¹⁷⁸ and dwelling houses of the councillors. It was to be situated on a lot roughly triangular in plan that was determined by the pattern of the streets. The concept of the large governmental building, located in the centre of the capital and by necessity given a triangular plan had already been elaborated by Matvei Kazakov in the State Senate in the Moscow Kremlin. Kazakov's structure, which was highly praised by the Empress on its completion in 1787,¹⁷⁹ could well have been one of L'vov's sources of inspiration in the design for the Administrative Offices as well as a number of other structures, such as the rotunda in his own estate Nikolskoe and the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God. Kazakov's edifice is a combination of structures arranged on the perimeter of three inner courts; the central feature of the complex is a pentagonal court and the rotundal structure of the main hall of the Senate decorated with a colonnade in the interior. (Plate 73) In the design for the Administrative Offices, L'vov used a pentagonal edifice containing a colonnaded rotunda as the core of the composition and

¹⁷⁷ L'vov's designs for the Administrative Offices were published in M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., pp.145-146; Designs which record a wooden model of the building were reproduced by N.Nikulina. The model was kept in the Academy of Arts until 1868, when it was destroyed together with the model of L'vov's Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God.

¹⁷⁸ The factories in Kolyvan were famous for the production of the decorative art objects of semi-precious stones, supplied for the decoration of the Imperial palaces.

¹⁷⁹ Felix Razumovskii. 'Matvei Kazakov - arkhitekt 'dvorianskoi respubliki' ('Matvei Kazakov - the Architect of the Noblemen's Republic'). *Nashe nasledie (Our Heritage)*, vi, 1991, pp.48-63.

explored the concept of the combination of the courtyards and several interconnected blocks of one building.

However, it is worth noting that the designs for the Administrative Offices have much in common with a design for a Royal Palace produced by John Soane in 1779, but not published until 1828.¹⁸⁰ (Plate 74) L'vov's chief sources of inspiration are found through comparing his concept with that of Soane. Indeed, both structures feature the similar triangular plan, the central pentagonal domed building, the system of inner courts and the decoration of the facades with colonnades and porticoes. Soane's description of his project indicates the sources, which could well have been used by L'vov:

To unite the grand and the useful is a most difficult task: <...> In composing this Design, I laboured to avail myself of the advantages arising out of the contemplation of the Remains of the great works of the Ancients, as well as of the observations and practice of the Moderns. With these feelings, I have endeavoured to combine magnificence with utility, and intricacy with variety and novelty. Vignola's celebrated Palace at Caprarola determined the general outline of the Plan: and the immense Remains of the Imperial Palace of the Caesars in Rome, - the villa of Adrian at Tivoli, - the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, - the Baths of the Romans, - and the Pantheon, with its superb Portico, - exemplars of magnificence, intricacy, variety, and movement, uniting all the intellectual delights of Classical Architecture, - were objects calculated to call forth the best energies of the young Artist.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ John Soane. Designs for Public and Private Buildings. London, 1828.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in: Damie Stillman. English Neo-classical Architecture. London: A.Zwemmer Ltd., 1988, vol.I, p.63.

L'vov is unlikely to have seen that design, however, the sources mentioned by Soane were undoubtedly known to L'vov, while the idea to reconstruct the grandeur of the Roman Imperial architecture was no less popular in St.Petersburg than it was in London.

The basis for both L'vov's and Soane's projects was the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, some fifty kilometres north-west of Rome. That building was started in 1521 by Baltassare Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo, but taken over in 1559 and completed in 1573 by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, whose innovative idea was to fit in the original pentagonal plan of the Palazzo a circular central courtyard and to decorate the ground and the first floors of the inner side of the pentagon with arcades giving access to the suites of rooms of the structure.¹⁸²

(Plate 75) L'vov modified that idea in the central pentagonal block of the Administrative Offices: the central circular courtyard covered with a dome is the main thoroughfare of the building, from which there is access to the offices by staircases and through the arcaded gallery on the first floor. Several other features in L'vov's design for the rotunda of the Administrative Offices are similar to the courtyard in the Palazzo Farnese, such as double columns supporting the arcade and the rustication of the ground floor.

The Palazzo in Caprarola was admired by Vignola's contemporaries: for instance, Giorgio Vasari described the structure in his Lives of the Artists,

¹⁸² International Dictionary of Architects and Architecture. Detroit, London, Washington D.C.: St.James Press. 1993, vol.2, p.536.

1568,¹⁸³ which was probably known to L'vov. Vignola's influence on European architecture of the following centuries was significant. In England, one of the earliest assessments of the Palazzo Farneze is found in The Elements of Architecture by Sir Henry Wotton (London, 1651), who praised 'that famous piece at Caprarola <...> where the architect did ingeniously wrestle with diverse inconvenience in disposing of the Lightes and in saving the vacuities.'¹⁸⁴ The fascination of the architects with the Palazzo continued through to the nineteenth century, when John Soane named it as his inspiration for the Royal Palace and the State Paper Office in London (1830-1834).¹⁸⁵

The influence of Vignola, especially the designs of Caprarola, on Russian architecture has not been explored by scholars. However, L'vov's Government Offices belong to a series of projects produced in Russia and inspired by Vignola. For example, one of the earliest imitations of the Palazzo is the Gothic version of the design for the Imperial Palace at Konkovo, near Moscow, produced by Kazakov during the 1780s. (Plate 76) The building was left incomplete and finally dismantled in 1803.¹⁸⁶ The pentagonal plan with the circular inner court of the Palace at Konkovo was identical to Vignola's design, and the towers at the corners of the main block were inspired by the bastions of the Palazzo in Caprarola. However, neither A.I.Vlasiuk nor Dimitri Shvidkovsky in their

¹⁸³ Giorgio Vasari. The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects. Dent: London. Everyman's Library. Dutton: New York. 1963, vol.4, pp.94-96.

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in: John Coolidge. Studies on Vignola. An abridgement of a Ph.D. thesis. New York University, 1950, p.8.

¹⁸⁵ International Dictionary of Architects and Architecture. Vol.2, op.cit., p.539.

¹⁸⁶ A.I.Vlasiuk, A.I.Kaplun, A.A.Kiparisova. Kazakov. Moscow: Gosstroizdat, 1957. p.208.

analysis of the Palace have indicated the possibility this connection.¹⁸⁷ Vignola's design may also have been used in the preparation of the concept of the Mikhailovskii Castle, built from 1797 until 1800 for the Tsar Paul I in St.Petersburg to the designs of Kazakov's mentor Bazhenov. The views of the Palazzo open an album, which contains thirteen preliminary designs for the Castle.¹⁸⁸ The combination of the images of the Palace and the fortress and the functional plan based on unification of the contrasting geometric forms of the Palazzo in Caprarola are embodied in the concepts of both the Palace at Konkovo and the Mikhailovskii Castle.

L'vov's works indicate that the influence of Vignola extended to the interpretation of the orders. Thus, L'vov not only used the design of Palazzo Farnese as a source of inspiration, but also studied Vignola's book The Regola delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura (The Rule of the Five Orders of Architecture), published in 1562. The success of the Cinque Ordini was due to the revolutionary concept of a system of modules, which set clearly defined rules for the design of the orders and was well illustrated. The treatise was widely used in Russia from the beginning of the eighteenth century: it served both as an invaluable source for education of the students of architecture and a reference book.¹⁸⁹ L'vov praised

¹⁸⁷ Dimitri Shvidkovsky. The Empress & the Architect. op.cit., p.209.

¹⁸⁸ V.L.Snegiriov. op.cit., p.196. Snegirev only mentioned the fact and did not attempt to analyse this connection.

¹⁸⁹ Vignola's treatise was the first book on architecture published in Russian: Pravilo o piati chinekh arkhitektury Iakova Barotsia de Vignola, 1709. Bazhenov pointed out the educational value of that book in his 'Mnenie o raznykh pisateliakh, kotorykh sochineniia o arkhitekture y nas ezhdnevno v rukakh byvaiut' ('An Opinion on different writers, whose works on architecture are in our daily use'), see: N.Morentz. 'Novye materialy o V.I.Bazhenove' ('New documents on

the clarity of Vignola's explanation of the drawing of the Ionic capital¹⁹⁰ and used Vignola's version of the order with the characteristic pendants near the scrolls of the capital in the churches of St.Catherine in Valdai, completed in 1791, and the Holy Trinity in the village of Alexandrovskoe near St.Petersburg, built from 1785 until 1787. (See chapter II, part II)

L'vov also seems to have been influenced by Vignola's concept of designing a building as a system of flat planes with little emphasis on the sculptural volume of the structure, that was fully embodied in Caprarola. As John Coolidge has indicated, 'there is the fundamental concept of a flat plane running across the whole building'.¹⁹¹ The main front of the Administrative Offices does not indicate the complexity of the plan of the whole building. That facade is decorated with a hexastyle Corinthian portico on the rusticated ground floor and linked by two curved colonnaded wings to the side blocks. Such an arrangement is similar to designs of Palladian villas and Cameron's Palace at Pavlovsk. Indeed, the Palace at Pavlovsk also features Corinthian porticoes on the rusticated basement, the domed rotunda and the curved colonnaded wings embracing the courtyard, but has a completely different layout based on the

V.I.Bazhenov'), *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo*, 1. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo literatury po stroitel'stvu i arkhiterture, 1951, pp.102-103. Another edition of Vignola's book entitled *Novyi Viniola (New Vignola)* was translated from French and published in Moscow in 1778. The treatise was used for instructing architectural apprentices in the architectural school of Prince Ukhtomskii in Moscow in the middle of the eighteenth century and in the department of architecture (*arkhitekturnyi klass*) in the Academy of Arts. For more information see: N.A.Evsina. op.cit., pp.14-15, 17, 34, 37-38, 41.

¹⁹⁰ *Chetyre knigi Palladiovoi arkhitektury*, op.cit., p.45, footnote 27.

¹⁹¹ John Coolidge. op.cit., p.11.

characteristic Palladian grid. It is possible to suggest that L'vov in the design for the Administrative Offices attempted to combine motifs derived from both Vignola and Palladio.

The idea to introduce the type of Palladian villa into the city was embodied by Ivan Starov in the Tauride Palace constructed for Catherine's favourite Prince Grigorii Potemkin from 1783 until 1789 on the left bank of the Neva, upstream from the Winter Palace. Starov designed a symmetrical domed structure decorated with a portico on the main facade facing a rectangular courtyard. However, it was L'vov who for the first time attempted to introduce the scheme influenced by Palladio on Nevskii Prospect.¹⁹² The proposed location of the structure in the most prestigious part of St.Petersburg in the proximity to the Imperial Palaces almost certainly have prompted L'vov to design the Administrative Offices as a palatial rather than a more simple utilitarian building.

The grandeur of the edifice should also have reflected the might of the state, which it represented. The idea of the expression of the image of the state through architecture was widely discussed in Russia during the second half of the eighteenth century. For example, Alexander Radishchev in his controversial book A Journey from St.Petersburg to Moscow (Puteshestvie iz Peterburga v Moskvu),

¹⁹² A similar concept of the main facade was subsequently used by Voronikhin in the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God surmounted with a cupola, decorated with the Corinthian portico and linked with Nevskii Prospekt by curved colonnades. As with L'vov's design, the main facade of Voronikhin's Cathedral does not fully indicate the actual plan of the structure. The wooden model made to L'vov's design of the Administrative Offices, which was kept in the Academy of Arts, could have been one of Voronikhin's sources of inspiration.

1792, condemned the greatness of the buildings, which were useless for the nation, and characterised such edifices as proofs of the enslavement of the society.¹⁹³ On the contrary, the magnificence of public structures was considered a mark of a progressive and just society akin to that of ancient Athens and also a testimony of the political wisdom of the rulers, who were anxious to care for their subjects. For instance, in 1780, an anonymous author in his description of an ideal settlement pointed out that 'the splendour was seen only in public buildings, which in their taste of architecture expressed simplicity and grandness, a proof of the greatness of the mind of their creators.'¹⁹⁴ Similar views of architecture as a public treasure and a testimony of the enlightenment of the society were advocated in the book Poniatie o sovershennom zhivopistse (The Concept of the Perfect Painter), published in St.Petersburg in 1789 by Arkhip Ivanov.¹⁹⁵ L'vov possessed a copy of Ivanov's book¹⁹⁶ and must have been well aware of the concept of interrelation of architecture and the society. His designs for the Administrative Offices and public buildings in St.Petersburg and the provinces should be considered in the context of the contemporary theoretical discussions. For instance, the palatial features in L'vov's design for the Administrative Offices were supposed to serve the purpose of proper representation of the state institution, yet the openness of the building to the

¹⁹³ In the chapter 'Khotilov. Proekt v budushchem' ('Khotilov. A project in the future'), paragraph 252.

¹⁹⁴ 'Razgovor Evropeitsa s ostrovskim zhitel'm korolevstva Diumokaly' ('A Conversation of a European with an inhabitant of an island of the Kingdom of Diumokaly'). Sankt-Peterburgskii vestnik, 1780, part VI, December, pp.394-395. Quoted in: N.A.Evsina. op.cit., p.83.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ A.B.Nikitina. 'N.A.L'vov. Italianskii dnevnik.' op.cit., p.249.

outside world achieved by means of introducing the transparent colonnades on one of the facades and the small 'welcoming' squares in front of the other facades would have created an impression of the accessibility of the authorities to the people.

The further comparison between L'vov and Soane's designs clarifies the concept of the building of the Administrative Offices. For example, L'vov's idea to create a large structure with complex plan including courts and halls and decorated with colonnades and porticoes was probably inspired by the examples of Roman architecture, mentioned by Soane in his essay on the design for the Royal Palace. The connection between the design for the Administrative Offices and the Pantheon is obvious in the domed central rotunda combined with a Corinthian external portico on the main facade of both structures.

Soane's Bank of England started in 1792 and completed in 1833 has much in common with L'vov's Administrative Offices. Both structures were designed for the sites of irregular outline and comprise complexes of colonnades, rotundas and inner courtyards, the corners of the facades were decorated with pairs of columns. L'vov's experimentalism is akin to Soane's unorthodox creativity and the investigation of the affinities between the works of the two architects make it possible to discover the sources used by L'vov.

CHAPTER II

ASPECTS OF PALLADIANISM AND NEO-CLASSICISM IN L'VOV'S

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

PART I.

MODIFICATION OF PALLADIO'S PRINCIPLES

'Let there be Palladio's taste in my homeland' - declared L'vov in the preface to his edition of Palladio. For L'vov, Palladio's works were unsurpassed examples of 'the purity of taste, the proportionality of parts and the choice of ornaments'.¹⁹⁷ The logical organisation of the designs, the symmetrical composition of the facade, and the use of ancient Roman buildings as models for emulation made Palladio's architecture the basis for L'vov's creativity.

The reasons for L'vov's reverence for Palladio were similar to those of British noblemen-architects, such as Lord Burlington, and have been well summed up by James S. Ackerman:

'The choice of Palladio as a model uniquely suited the needs of a gentleman-designer. His published architecture was simple and imitable and it offered an easily grasped repertory of basic motifs. The woodcut plans and elevations of the Quattro libri (which were technically primitive for their time) <...> were executed in minimal style that eased emulation, and they provided an ample anthology of inventions, particularly for villa design.'¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ N.A.L'vov. 'Ot izdatelia russkogo Palladia.' op.cit.

¹⁹⁸ James S. Ackerman. op.cit., p.156.

Palladio's influence was paramount in L'vov's designs for domestic architecture. The cuboid form of the villa Rotonda terminated with a cupola and decorated with porticoes was one of L'vov's models, which influenced his designs for dachas, i.e. suburban residences, and country houses. The villa Rotonda type of composition is embodied in the design for the 'small summer house' in Lialichi in the Ukraine produced by L'vov before 1791.¹⁹⁹ (Plate 77) The client was Count Piotr Zavodovskii, one of Catherine's favourites, a close friend of Semion Vorontsov and an associate of Bezborodko, all of whom were L'vov's patrons, the director of the State Bank and a freemason.²⁰⁰ In Lialichi, Zavodovskii also employed Quarenghi, who built for him a Palladian country house during the 1780s.²⁰¹ Both Quarenghi's and L'vov's structures were similar in style: their forms were inspired by the villa Rotonda and the layouts were examples of application of Palladio's principle of symmetrical planning: the rectangular central hall in both buildings was surrounded with smaller rooms, each of them forming a reflection of the opposite room both in size and shape. However, such a strict symmetry in plan was unusual in L'vov's designs and was probably due to the purpose of the structure as a pleasure pavilion, which did not serve as a permanent dwelling.

¹⁹⁹ That building is mentioned in the list of L'vov's engraved designs compiled in 1791. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 114, p.9. The building was studied by F.Gornostaev at the beginning of the century, but was subsequently destroyed. See: M.V.Budylna et.al. op.cit., p.109.

²⁰⁰ Isabel de Madariaga. Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great. op.cit., p.345, 353-354. Zavodovskii was a member of the lodge 'Mars' in Jassy, Moldavia, registered in the engraving lists of the Grand Lodge of England in 1774. A.G.Cross. 'British Freemasons in Russia during the Reign of Catherine the Great'. op.cit., pp. 45, 65-66.

²⁰¹ V.N.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.

In the preface to his translation of the Quattro libri, L'vov pointed out that the buildings illustrated in the treatise, however perfect they were for the accommodation of antique heroes and Palladio's clients, were not suitable for L'vov's contemporaries. The change of mores and habits brought about a new method of planning, which answered the demand for luxury. For instance, houses of his clients would have been unimaginable without dressing rooms, boudoirs and other small, but essential compartments inserted into the layout. This destroyed the symmetry of Palladio's plans, yet L'vov was ready to discard it in order to make his houses comfortable.

L'vov found examples of the combination of grandeur and convenience in designs by French architects. For instance, during his stay in Paris in 1777, L'vov and his friend the poet Ivan Khemnitser visited the pavilion of Madame du Barry at Louveciennes, built by Ledoux in 1770. Khemnitser writes in his diary that 'the strictest rules and the taste' dictate the form of every detail in the design of that building. He also notes the synthesis of architecture, carving, painting and ornament, which was the result of co-operation of several artists.²⁰²

Khemnitser and L'vov's appraisal of the design by Ledoux contrasts with their critical assessment of Gabriel's Petit Trianon at Versailles, which in their view lacked magnificence. The pavilion for du Barry was indeed conceived to rival the Petit Trianon, begun a decade earlier, and to manifest the new taste in architecture. The pavilion at Louveciennes is known for the ingenious

²⁰² N.A.Evsina. op.cit., p.142.

assemblage of the square, oval and apsidal rooms in the rectangular plan and the geometrical purity of the style of the facade contrasted with the luxurious interior decoration.²⁰³ The impressions gained by L'vov from observing Ledoux's work could well have influenced his designs for St.Joseph's and domestic buildings.

The art of distribution of spaces in a building, perfected in France from the middle of eighteenth century, was acknowledged by L'vov, who considered the French method of planning as a source for imitation.²⁰⁴ This view was shared by other architects working in Russia at the end of eighteenth century. For instance, Quarenghi admired and carefully studied the plans produced by French architects, such as Ledoux and de Wailly, while the designs by Neufforge, famous for their inventive planning, served as models for the students of the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg.²⁰⁵ The engravings by Neufforge included in the Gatchina album provided L'vov with a vast array of examples for imitation.

A departure from Palladio's strictly symmetrical plans also took place in Britain where Robert Adam introduced the idea of free arrangement of spaces and substituted Palladian square and rectangular rooms by those of different shapes, inspired by ancient Roman baths. Adam was followed by other British architects, such as John Soane, who advocated 'the utility in plans' and 'convenience and comfort of the interior distributions' unified with 'simplicity and uniformity in

²⁰³ For the analysis of the pavilion, see: Wend von Kalnein. Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1995, p.197; A.Vidler. op.cit., p.54-57.

²⁰⁴ N.A.L'vov. 'Ot izdatelia russkogo Palladia.' op.cit.

²⁰⁵ N.A.Evsina. op.cit., p.38.

the exterior'.²⁰⁶ These views correspond to L'vov's practice of combining Palladian facades with convenient French planning. Further, the influence of French architectural theory is evident in Soane's concept of decoration, which was inspired by principles formulated by Abbé Laugier in his Essai sur l'architecture, published in 1753. Soane attacked the use of ornaments, which do not serve any purpose, for instance, he followed Laugier in condemning unfunctional pediments.²⁰⁷ L'vov expressed a similar idea stating that 'only such ornament is proper which has the appearance of necessity' and 'although false pediments do not protect from the storm, they at least protect the part of the wall which they cover; if there was no necessity, than at least they should simulate one.'²⁰⁸ L'vov may also have been influenced by Laugier's theories, since he possibly had access to copies of the Essai sur l'architecture, which were in possession of both Cameron and Quarenghi.²⁰⁹ Thus the comparative analysis of the ideas of L'vov and Soane uncovers a plausible source of L'vov's theoretical views.

There are several designs, in which L'vov successfully combined Palladio's style and the French principle of convenience of planning. For instance, the cuboid volume and the symmetrical arrangement of the facade in the design for a

²⁰⁶ See Soane's introduction to his Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings, 1788. Soane's theoretical views are summed up in: Hanno-Walter Kruft, A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present. Princeton Architectural Press. 1994, p.256.

²⁰⁷ David Watkin. 'Soane and his Contemporaries'. op.cit., p.41-45.

²⁰⁸ N.A.L'vov. Chetyre knigi Palladievoi arkhitektury. op.cit., footnote 29, p.55.

²⁰⁹ Catalogue d'une Bibliotheque precieuse... op.cit., p.90. Piervaleriano Angelini. 'Giacomo Quarenghi bibliofilo'. op.cit., p.181.

wooden house for his friend the poet Vasilii Kapnist is inspired by Palladio's models. (Plate 78) However, the plan of the building has a number of features absent in Palladio's designs and probably derived from Neufforge. For instance, an octagonal hall projecting through a wall could have been borrowed from the design of a house included in the Gatchina album. (Plate 79) The location of the staircase between the salon and vestibule on the central axis of the house is also common in both L'vov and Neufforge's designs and unusual for Palladio.

The plan of the house for another member of L'vov's circle the poet and the statesman Gavriil Derzhavin built during the 1790s and early 1800s on the embankment of the river Fontanka in St.Petersburg, near Izmailovskii bridge, is an imitation of the type of French town house. Its main block is set back from the street and situated between front courtyard flanked by kitchen and stables wings and rear garden.²¹⁰ Such an arrangement has numerous parallels in French architecture, from Pierre Lassurance's Hôtel Desmarets in Paris, which dates from 1704, to Ledoux's Hôtel Thélusson in Paris, his most celebrated private commission, built between 1778 and 1781. Although Derzhavin's house is not a direct imitation of the Hôtel Thélusson, the ideas of the distribution of the layout in both buildings are similar: Ledoux's structure also had a forecourt surrounded

²¹⁰ The house has been altered on numerous occasions during nineteenth and twentieth centuries and now has little resemblance to the original design. See: A.N.Petrov. 'Istoriko-khudozhestvennoe issledovanie. Dom Derzhavina' ('A Historic and Artistic Study of the House of Derzhavin'). The Archive of the State Inspection of the Preservation of Monuments of St.Petersburg. H-1060/5.

by service buildings and the regular plan with an oval salon projecting through the rear facade into the garden.²¹¹ (Plates 80, 81)

L'vov's idea to combine Palladian forms in the exterior and convenience of planning is embodied in the design of the dacha of Piotr Soimonov built during the 1780s in the outskirts of St.Petersburg.²¹² The cuboid structure decorated with porticoes and terminated with a cupola reminds one of the villa Rotonda, while the asymmetrical interior of the building reflected the interplay of public and private activities: one side of the house accommodated large two-storey halls designed for social gatherings, while the opposite part was divided into two floors and contained living rooms. (Plate 82)

L'vov's inventive approach to Palladio's principles is particularly evident in the designs of the country houses. For instance, the house on the estate of Vvedenskoe, south of Moscow, designed by L'vov for major-general and Moscow governor Piotr Lopukhin at the end of the 1790s²¹³ is an interpretation of the Palladian scheme: the central part of the building is decorated with a Corinthian portico combined with a loggia and connected to the side wings with open colonnades. However, the plan of the main block has a number of features alien to Palladio, such as the semicircular projection on the garden facade and the

²¹¹ Hôtel Thélusson was demolished in 1824. See: A.Vidler. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. op.cit., p.62.

²¹² The building was demolished during the nineteenth century.

²¹³ L'vov's letter to Lopukhin of December, 1798, in which the architect discusses the design of the estate is the only evidence for the attribution of the house to L'vov. The document is kept in RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, pp.104-105.

oval salon on the main axis. The porticoes at the corners of the service wings add to the grandeur of the house situated on a hill above the river Moskva and seen from a distance. (Plate 83)

CHAPTER II, PART II

L'VOV'S DESIGNS FOR NIKOLSKOE AND THEIR INFLUENCE

L'vov's approach to the legacy of Palladio and the practice of Neo-Classicism as well as the influence of Quarenghi and Cameron on his designs is highlighted by the analysis of the architecture of the estate Nikolskoe (Cherenchitsy) situated 20 km north-west of Torzhok.

It has been possible to examine the remains of the four buildings in Nikolskoe, which have survived to the present day in various degrees of disrepair: the west wing and a section of the central part of the country house, the pyramid, the mausoleum and the smithy.

The house in Nikolskoe was built during the 1780s and 1790s. It is not certain whether or not the east wing was ever completed, because in a vignette to one of L'vov's verses produced by his assistant Ivan Ivanov in the early nineteenth century and in a drawing by Vasilii Polenov executed in 1860 only the central block and the west wing are depicted. (Plate 84) These drawings together with an original L'vov's engraving of the main block of the house are the main sources for the reconstruction of the forms of the building. The design of the east wing should have followed the Neo-Classical canon of symmetry and repeated that of

the opposite wing.²¹⁴ (Plate 85) The larger part of the central block of the house was destroyed in a fire soon after the October revolution of 1917.²¹⁵

The design of the house is inspired by Palladio's villas illustrated in the Quattro libri, which consist of the main block and service wings, for instance, the villa Badoer at Fratta Polesine and villa Mocenigo in Brenta. (Plate 86) According to Palladio, such an arrangement was particularly suitable for the residences in the countryside, because they combined the two purposes inherent to the idea of the villa: the central part of the structure was assigned for repose of the owner, while the outbuildings served a utilitarian function often associated with running agriculture of the estate and could contain storage rooms, barns, etc.²¹⁶ Similar to the villas of the noblemen of Venice and Vicenza, the house in Nikolskoe was for L'vov both a retreat from the turmoil of the city and the centre of a functioning agricultural estate. Gavriil Derzhavin, L'vov's closest friend, in one of his poems recorded L'vov's life in Nikolskoe, describing it as dedicated to the family, creative activities and introducing improvements on the estate:

Sokryta zhizn' tvoia v derevne
Techiot teper', o milyi L'vov!

²¹⁴ A vignette by Ivan Ivanov and L'vov's engraving were published in: M.V.Budylna. op.cit., pp.15, 55. The engraving carries L'vov's inscription which states that the house was designed, built and depicted by him.

²¹⁵ The family archive of the L'vov's was destroyed by fire. T.V.Alekseeva. op.cit, p.19. Additional difficulty for a researcher into L'vov's work is the fact that the library and papers of the architect were lost by his secretary. On 28th of September 1795, L'vov wrote to Kapnist from Nikolskoe: 'Maltsov lost not only all my writings <...>, but also my notes concerning the arts and all my journals'. N.A.L'vov. Izbrannye sochinenija. op.cit., p.349.

²¹⁶ James S. Ackerman. The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses. London: Thames and Hudson. 1990, pp.97, 105.

<...>

No ty umion - ty postigaesh,
 Chto tot liubimets lish nebes,
 Kotoryi pod shumkom potoka
 Il' sladko spit, il' vospevaet
 O boge, druzhbe i liubvi.

<...>

Trudy krepiaet ego zdorovie;
 Kak vozdukh, krov' ego legka;
 Poutru, kak zefir, letaet
 Vesely obozret' raboty,
 A zavtrakat' speshit v svoi dom.

<...>

Tut nezhna, milaia supruga

<...>

Stiraet pot s ego chela.

Tseluia raskrasnevshi shchoki <...>²¹⁷

(Your life, oh dear L'vov, is now flowing hidden in the country!/<...> But you are clever: you comprehend/ that the heavens only love the one/ who by the murmur of a stream,/ either sleeps or sings/ God, friendship and love./<...> The labours strengthen his health;/ his blood is as light as the air;/ in the morning <he> flies like the zephyr/ to observe cheerful works,/ and <then> hurries to his house for breakfast./<...> Here, the tender, sweet wife/<...> wipes the perspiration off his face./ Kissing <his> rosy cheeks <...>)

It seems entirely logical that Palladio's composition for the villa was adopted by L'vov for the design of his country house. The fact that the wings of the house were probably used for accommodation, while the barn, the stores for food, wood and other service buildings were situated separately conforms to the traditional

²¹⁷ 'K N.A.L'vovu' ('To N.A.L'vov'). In: G.R.Derzhavin. *Stikhotvoreniia (Poems)*. Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel. 1957, pp.194-195.

arrangement of Palladian houses, whose patrician owners tended to remove the odours and mess of the farm from close proximity to their apartments.²¹⁸

The plan of the central block of the house consisted of the central hall under the cupola surrounded by suites of rooms. Such an arrangement was used by Palladio in the villa Rotonda and other structures and illustrated in Quattro libri. The cupola decorated with tripartite or Diocletian windows is identical to the dome in Palladio's design for a villa.²¹⁹ (Plate 87) Such form of the dome was adopted by followers of Palladio, for instance, by Vincenzo Scamozzi in the villa Molini near Padua, constructed in 1597.²²⁰ The practicality of that design appealed to L'vov, who used it in a number of structures, such as the house for Gavriil Derzhavin in Zvanka, near Novgorod built after 1797.²²¹

The portico which decorated the main facade of the house is another feature suggested in Quattro libri. Palladio pointed out that a pediment on columns announced the entrance of houses and adds much to their grandeur and magnificence. He supported this argument by reference to ancient temples and other public edifices decorated with porticoes.²²² The tradition of emphasising the principal front of the house with a portico became one of the typical features of Palladian architecture and was adhered to by Quarenghi and Cameron.

²¹⁸ James S. Ackerman. The Villa. op.cit., p.105.

²¹⁹ That design is in the Burlington-Devonshire collection now on permanent loan to the British Architectural Library.

²²⁰ John Harris. The Palladian Revival. op.cit., p.134.

²²¹ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.28.

²²² James S. Ackerman. The Villa. op.cit., p.99.

The form of the wings in L'vov's house combines the semicircular facades facing the yard and the straight suite of rooms continuing through the main block. Such an arrangement reminds one of Palladio's villa Badoer at Fratta Polesine.

However, staircases located in the middle of the wings of L'vov's house and semicircular projections on the facades opposite to the yard make the plan more complicated than the one proposed by Palladio. The unusual form of the wings in L'vov's house was probably inspired by the similar layout of Wardour Castle, Wiltshire built for eighth lord of Arundell by James Paine from 1768 until 1776. (Plate 88) The long suite of rooms uniting the central block and the wings, the apsidal rooms and the centrally located staircases in the wings are similar to the house in Nikolskoe. During the 1770s, Quarenghi produced designs for the decoration of the interiors of the Castle, such as the Chapel, and possibly supplied L'vov with the plan of that building.²²³ In 1785, Quarenghi wrote in a letter to Luigi Marchesi that he had designed a house for a certain L'vov and it is most probable that he meant Nikolai L'vov with whom he closely co-operated.²²⁴

One of Quarenghi's artistic principles was to consider critically the heritage of the past and to take into account the variety of situations, conditions and habits, which influenced the designs of great architects. In Quarenghi's opinion, slavish imitation of the models and rules would result in producing mediocre

²²³ Christopher Hussey, English Country Houses. Mid Georgian. 1760-1800. London: Country Life Ltd. 1956, pp.119-121; V.I.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.30.

²²⁴ V.I.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.65.

buildings.²²⁵ L'vov shared that view, for instance in the text accompanying the translation of Palladio's treatise he stressed that fixed principles hinder the work of an artist.²²⁶ Such reasoning led him to suggest the incompatibility of Palladio's planning with the conditions of the Russian climate. According to L'vov, the severity of Russian winters made it necessary to change Palladio's plans in order to keep the houses warm and avoid draughts. The design of Wardour Castle possibly prompted L'vov to transform the open colonnades which connect Palladio's houses with their outbuildings into the continuous facades, thereby retaining the basic Palladian scheme and protecting the interior of the house from the elements. A similar approach has already been observed in L'vov's ingenious modification of the cupola of the Pantheon in St. Joseph's.

The link between the two architects is strengthened by the fact that a number of L'vov's drawings display a significant influence of Quarenghi's style. For example, one of the sketches in the album which belonged to L'vov depicts a scene undoubtedly borrowed from architectural fantasies by Quarenghi.²²⁷ The sketch represents a landscape flanked by trees, two figures in the foreground, a circular structure with the cupola and an aqueduct behind them, while the mountains are visible in the background. (Plate 89) These motifs are recurrent in Quarenghi's drawings: they reflect his interest in Roman architecture and affection for Italian landscapes. The manner of the drawing in L'vov's album is

²²⁵ V.I. Piliavskii. *op.cit.*, p.39.

²²⁶ N.A. L'vov. *Chetyre knigi Palladiovoi arkhitektury*. *op.cit.*, preface and note 32.

²²⁷ The album is now kept in the department of Russian culture in the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg, OIRK (The Department of the history of Russian culture), ARR - 4272, p.41.

identical to Quarenghi's: for instance, the trees are depicted without detailing, while the volume is revealed by the areas of paint.

The arrangement of the house in Nikolskoe, which combines the form of the Palladian villa with the long suite of rooms characteristic for palatial interiors and the peculiar outline of the wings, also influenced Adam Menelaws who must have visited Nikolskoe after he was appointed the architect of the Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb in Torzhok. (See Chapter I) Menelaws used the plan of L'vov's house as the point of departure for his design for the house in Gorenki, east of Moscow, built for the Razumovskii during the 1780s and 1790s and remodelled from 1912 until 1916.²²⁸ The original layout of that structure was strongly reminiscent of the house in Nikolskoe, except the central part which was given an elongated shape more suitable for a Palace.²²⁹ That plan was further elaborated by Menelaws in the Palace of Piotr Razumovskii at Gorokhovoe Pole in Moscow constructed from 1801 until 1803. The layout of the Palace is a combination of the palatial suites of rooms continuing throughout the whole length of the building and the Palladian service wings, which have semicircular facades facing the main yard. (Plate 90)

²²⁸ Pamiatniki arkhitkтуры Moskovskoi oblasti. (Architectural monuments of Moscow region). Moscow: Iskustvo, 1975, vol. I, pp.9-10.

²²⁹ For the reconstruction of the original plan of the house in Gorenki see: Alla Nikitina. Arkhitkturnoe nasledie N.A.L'vova. Novye i maloizvestnye materialy. (Architectural Heritage of N.A.L'vov. New and Little-Known Materials). Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. St. Petersburg, 1992. p.139. Russian State Library, Moscow, Khimki branch. Classmark: RGB 61:93-17/80-4.

The design of the central block of Cameron's Palace at Pavlovsk and its location in the garden scenery are particularly similar to the house in Nikolskoe. Both structures have in common the cuboid three storey central building with the portico on the main facade, the rusticated basement, the symmetrical plan with suites of rooms arranged around the central hall which was lit from above and had a window in the floor. However, the smaller size of the house in Nikolskoe, the simple form of the cupola instead of the rotunda on top of Cameron's Palace and the Ionic order of the portico instead of the Corinthian order at Pavlovsk indicate the difference in the status and means of the owners.

The influence of Cameron is significant for the manner in which L'vov located the house in its setting. In Nikolskoe, the building is situated on a hill overlooking an English garden: a valley with groups of trees, artificial ponds of irregular outline and cascades. (Plate 91) That arrangement was probably inspired by Cameron's design of the central area of the park at Pavlovsk. The location of both the Palace at Pavlovsk and L'vov's house in Nikolskoe reminds one of that of the villa Rotonda as described by Palladio in Quattro libri. For the Rotonda Palladio chose 'one of the most pleasant and delightful' sites situated 'on top of a little hill with an easy ascent' and surrounded by a river on one side and 'most agreeable' cultivated hills on the other.²³⁰ As already mentioned, a similar setting is observed around L'vov's Cathedral of Sts. Boris and Gleb in Torzhok.

²³⁰ James S. Ackerman. The Villa. op.cit., p.106.

However, the features inspired by Palladio in the landscape at Pavlovsk and Nikolskoe were overlaid by the influence of the Picturesque. In fact, Cameron's design of Pavlovsk represents one of the most accomplished examples of the combination of a Palladian house and the Picturesque setting in Russia, which must have influenced L'vov.

Cameron produced the layout for the park in the early 1780s and continued his work on landscaping until the second half of the 1790s. The architect was familiar with William Gilpin's writings on the Picturesque. For instance, he possessed Gilpin's book Remarks on Forest Scenery and other Woodland Views (Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty) (London, 1791).²³¹ One of Gilpin's manuscripts containing an imaginary description of the situation of a house written probably in the late 1760s corresponds closely to the scenery at Pavlovsk. Although Cameron did not probably read that essay, Gilpin's description demonstrates the degree of Cameron's involvement with the Picturesque. The house pictured by Gilpin stood upon a gentle eminence, fronting the setting sun and enjoying beautiful views. The sloping lawn in front of it descended to a lake of a beautiful outline enhanced with various bays and windings. A projection of wood shot into the lake and gave a noble turn to the water. Behind this scenery was visible a market town. A river was winding among the mountains coming through the waterfalls and forming lakes. The landscape was ornamented with a variety of scenes which included clumps of trees, scattered oaks, groves on the

²³¹ The book is now kept in the library of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg.

hills descending to the edge of water and boats traversing the lake.²³² At Pavlovsk, the Palace situated on a hill facing the setting sun, the valley below, the pond, the cascade, the town seen through the trees in the background, the peninsula with a grove giving a turn to the water and the river winding in the hills create a Picturesque landscape which in the 1780s was surrounded by the wilderness of the forest.

Cameron's work at Pavlovsk must also have influenced L'vov's ideas about the combination of strictly ordered Palladian architecture and irregular English garden. In his turn, Cameron followed the well established British tradition which was made famous through numerous designs by Capability Brown. For British Palladians, the contrast of the forms of the house and those of the garden represented two aspects of nature: one revealing the logical structure of the universe which could be expressed in mathematical ratios and another representing the free development of natural phenomena.²³³ That concept was almost certainly familiar to L'vov who masterfully unified the Neo-Classical buildings and their informal setting in Nikolskoe. L'vov was no doubt aware of the concept of the Picturesque which considerably influenced his design for the garden of Bezborodko in Moscow. This term is also found in L'vov's writings, for instance, he wittily described his grave illness during 1800 as a 'voyage ... plus pittoresque' to the other world.²³⁴

²³² Carl Paul Barbier. William Gilpin. His Drawings, Teaching, and Theory of the Picturesque. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1963, pp.175-176.

²³³ James S. Ackerman. *op.cit.*, p. 213.

²³⁴ K.Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Italianskii dnevnik N.A.L'vova'. *op.cit.*, p.93.

The concept of the rotunda is central to L'vov's work and was acknowledged as such by his contemporaries. For instance, Count Dmitri Buturlin wrote in a letter to Alexander and Semion Vorontsov that the taste of the architect was recognised in 'columns and rotundas'.²³⁵ In Nikolskoe, the rotunda situated to the east of the house was designed in the middle of the 1780s, started in 1789 and completed at the beginning of nineteenth century.²³⁶ (Plate 92)

The structure consists of a church dedicated to St.Nicolas in the main level and the family vault in the basement, where L'vov and his relatives were buried. In the design for the mausoleum, L'vov continued to elaborate on the ideas and motifs which he had used in St.Joseph's. Both buildings have double-shelled cupolas inspired by the Pantheon, though in the mausoleum both shells of the dome have the openings situated one above the other.²³⁷ Similar to St.Joseph's, the simple facade of the mausoleum decorated with the Doric colonnade contrasts with the interior sumptuously ornamented with Corinthian columns and pilasters, artificial marble, wall painting of bright red and brown colours and moulding in the cupola. The Corinthian rotunda placed by L'vov in the altar of St.Joseph's suggested that the architect assigned a sacred function to the circular structures.

²³⁵ *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, vol.32, p.224. The letter dates from 21st of June 1793.

²³⁶ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.59.

²³⁷ Such structure of the dome with the upper oculus being glazed reminds one of the Temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk.

The concept of the rotunda is pivotal to the architecture of Roman antiquity and must have provided major sources of inspiration for L'vov. One of his examples probably was the mausoleum of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way in Rome built in circa 30 B.C. The proportions of the rotunda in Nikolskoe are influenced by Vitruvius. For instance, the height of the columns equals the diameter of the cella.²³⁸ The interior of the cupola is similar to the Pantheon, while the general outline of the building with the dome rising above the colonnade is inspired by the temples of Vesta in Rome and Tivoli illustrated by Palladio in the Quattro libri.

The circle, which since antiquity represented the divine order of the universe, was considered by Renaissance architects, such as Alberti, a perfect plan for churches. According to Alberti, the composition of the rotunda was preferential for temples, because 'it is obvious from that is fashioned, produced, or created under her influence, that Nature delights primarily in the circle.'²³⁹ An Italian edition of Alberti's treatise was kept in Quarenghi's library and L'vov, who was fluent in that language, might well have consulted it.²⁴⁰ Following Alberti, Palladio recommended the round form for temples, since 'it is the only one amongst all the figures that is simple, uniform, equal, strong, and capacious...' Palladio also emphasised the symbolic significance of the circle:

²³⁸ Vitruvius. *op.cit.*, p.123.

²³⁹ Leon Battista Alberti. On the Art of Building in Ten Books. Translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press. 1988, p.196.

'it being enclosed by one termination only, in which is to be found neither beginning nor end, nor are they to be distinguished one from the other; but having its parts similar one to another, and all participating of the figure of the whole; in a word the extreme being found in all its parts, equally distant from the middle, it is exceeding proper to demonstrate the infinite essence, the uniformity, and the justice of God.'²⁴¹

Since the absolute majority of L'vov's ecclesiastical buildings are either circular in plan or include a rotunda, it is possible to suggest that his predilection for the round form of the churches must have been influenced by Palladio.

The idea of the circle as an expression of perfection was embodied by Bramante in the Tempietto in Rome which must have been one of L'vov's sources. For instance, both the Tempietto and the rotunda in Nikolskoe are decorated with sixteen columns of the Roman Doric order. L'vov probably saw the Tempietto during his visit to Rome. Palladio whose authority was essential for L'vov hailed that structure as an example of 'good and beautiful' architecture equal to the great buildings of the ancients and illustrated it in the Quattro libri.²⁴² (Plate 93)

The recurring motifs and the proportions of the Tempietto also express the mathematical version of the Renaissance model of the universe. The sixteen columns provide the key number for the ratios on which the design is based. Sixteen was cited by Vitruvius as the symbol of perfection. By division or

²⁴⁰ Leon Battista Alberti. I Dieci Libri dell'Architettura. Trad. da Pietro Lauro Modonex. Venezia, Vincenzo Vaugris, 1546. Piervaleriano Angelini. 'Giacomo Quarenghi bibliofilo'. op.cit., p.123.

²⁴¹ Palladio. op.cit., pp.81-82.

²⁴² Arnaldo Bruschi. op.cit., p.129.

deduction it can be reduced to all essential symbolic numbers, such as three and four. For instance, three indicates the Trinity, while four is the number of the Evangelists and it represents the Crucifixion. The symbolism of numbers is also reflected in L'vov's mausoleum: the sixteen columns and steps of the main staircase, the division of the colonnade into four segments and other motifs such as windows are distributed according to the simple numerical ratios which are usually based on the numbers three and four. Therefore it is possible to suggest that L'vov's mausoleum is an embodiment of the transcendental symbolism, both formal and numerical, elaborated in Renaissance architecture. The Renaissance origins of the design for the structure are emphasised by the fact that the wall paintings in the interior possibly produced by L'vov's protégé Borovikovskii are based on the works by Raphael.²⁴³ For instance one of the paintings is an imitation of the picture 'Vision of Ezekiel', c.1518, kept in the Uffizi, Florence, which L'vov could have seen during his trip to Italy.

In the interior of the Tempietto, Bramante addressed the spacial problem of reconciling the circular plan of the rotunda and the visually emphasised diagonals formed by the pilasters. L'vov developed that idea to a greater extent by breaking up the cella with two segmental projections. Such an extreme juxtaposition of the forms creates spacial tension in plan and somewhat damages the unity of the exterior. (Plate 94) The eccentricity of L'vov's plan is at variance with Palladian view of the building as a harmonious entity, akin to the ideal human body.

However, it is consistent with the concept of contrasting masses elaborated in the

²⁴³ Borovikovskii worked on the decoration of the Cathedral in Torzhok in the early 1790s. M.V.Budilina. *op.cit.*, p.125.

designs by Neufforge, who juxtaposed incongruous shapes or discrepant sizes in order to achieve unusual spacial effects. For example, the plate xxiv in his treatise represents a circular bathhouse surrounded with a colonnade. The building has two segmental extensions which create an outward movement in the composition. That plan is strongly reminiscent of the layout of the mausoleum in Nikolskoe and therefore it is possible to suggest that the compositional inventions of Neufforge influenced L'vov.²⁴⁴ However, unlike Neufforge, L'vov does not seem to have been concerned with the idea of formal invention for its own sake. In Nikolskoe, the requirements of Russian Orthodox service made it necessary to extend the east side of the church in order to accommodate the altar.

The influence of the Picturesque is obvious in the decoration of the basement which reveals the purpose of the structure and evokes sublime feelings associated with the sepulchral monument. In contrast to the upper part of the building, the basement is faced with rough stones, while in the interior of the burial chamber, the low vaults and dramatic illumination remind one of Piranesi's prints.

The mausoleum is situated on top of a hillock, near the road to Nikolskoe and was the first major structure seen by visitors coming to the estate. The location of the building is influenced by Palladio, who recommended that the temples outside cities should be built upon high places and near public streets or rivers in order to be seen and revered by the travellers.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ The plate xxiv is not included in the Gatchina album.

L'vov's mausoleum is characteristic for the eighteenth century architecture: the composition of the rotunda was used throughout Europe for various structures, ranging from the mausoleum in Castle Howard designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor in 1728-1729 to the dovecote designed by Quarenghi for Tsarskoe Selo during the 1780s.

The closest parallel to L'vov's rotunda is the mausoleum on the estate Nikolo-Pogoreloe, near Dorogobuzh, east of Smolensk, erected by Matvei Kazakov for the family of the Baryshnikov's. Both structures were built simultaneously and have similar design: Kazakov's rotunda was surrounded by columns and contained the burial chamber in the basement and the church above it.²⁴⁶

However, in contrast to L'vov, Kazakov added a portico to the entrance of the rotunda and decorated the exterior of the structure with the Ionic order. Both L'vov and Kazakov designed a significant number of circular buildings which often have common features. As it has been shown in the chapter I, Kazakov in the Golitsyn hospital built from 1796 until 1801 adopted L'vov's idea of the double-shelled cupola. Yet both architects could have been aware of each others work already in the 1780s. For instance, L'vov probably knew about Kazakov's involvement in building of the Senate in Moscow Kremlin erected from 1776 until 1787, in which the principal feature was the circular hall modelled on the Pantheon. The rotunda of the Senate is decorated with reliefs produced by the

²⁴⁵ Palladio. *op.cit.*, pp.80-81.

²⁴⁶ The mausoleum in Nikolo-Pogoreloe was destroyed during World War II. For the description of the building see: M.A.II'in. Kazakov. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo po stroitel'stvu i arkhitekture. 1955, pp.34-37.

sculptor Gavriil Zamaraev on the allegorical programme compiled by L'vov and the poet Gavriil Derzhavin, who worked for the Senate from 1777 until 1784.²⁴⁷

The method of building columns of the rotunda in Nikolskoe, in which stone slabs are inserted into the brickwork is identical to the technique used by Menelaws in Sts.Boris and Gleb's. (Plate 95) It is therefore possible that he participated in the works in Nikolskoe simultaneously with building the cathedral in Torzhok.

The store for fire wood in Nikolskoe, which has not survived, was a reconstruction of an initial stage in the development of architecture. The design corresponds to the story of Vitruvius and to its interpretations by eighteenth century theorists, such as William Chambers.²⁴⁸ The structure was built of wood and surrounded with thirty six Greek Doric columns. It was possibly a variation of the compositions of the rectangular temples described by Vitruvius.²⁴⁹ The simplest and most ancient of all orders, the rough texture of the walls made of trunks of trees and the sparse decoration of the structure were to reproduce the primitive manner of building, which subsequently evolved into first stone edifices. (Plate 96)

²⁴⁷ A.I.Vlasiuk et al. op.cit., pp.60-62; William Brumfield. op.cit., p.328; Jesse V. Clardy. op.cit., p.74.

²⁴⁸ For a description of the origins of architecture, based on Vitruvius, see: William Chambers. Treatise on Civil Architecture. London, 1759, pp.1-2. A copy of the treatise by Chambers was kept in the library of Quarenghi and could have been accessible to L'vov. See: Piervaleriano Angelini. 'Giacomo Quarenghi bibliofilo'. op.cit., p.190.

The four-sided pyramid erected near the west wing of the house in Nikolskoe is one of the earliest examples of the use of that type of structures on a Russian country estate. (Plate 97) L'vov may have been aware of the inquiries by the theorists of Neo-Classicism such as Marc-Antoine Laugier in Essai sur l'architecture, 1755, into the basic and original forms of architecture, since the design of the pyramid represents a step in that exploration, which leads beyond the limits of classical architecture.²⁵⁰

The elementary composition of the pyramid is complemented by the motif of the arch made of large slabs of the primitive workmanship. Through that portal one enters into the building, but instead of a burial chamber one encounters a food storage constructed and decorated according to its worldly and utilitarian purpose. The pyramid consists of two levels, each with a separate entrance. The passage leading to the lower level of the edifice is made of rough stones and reminds one of a passage in the grotto at Gorenki constructed by Menelaws who used a similar building technique. That fact indicates that Menelaws may have assisted L'vov in the works in Nikolskoe. The ice kept in the bottom compartment turned the pyramid into a refrigerator. A sophisticated ventilation system which includes shafts made in the walls directing the cool air from the ice cellar up to the main room and the circular openings in the vaults and in the upper parts of the walls of the pyramid provide the air circulation necessary for

²⁴⁹ Vitruvius. *op.cit.*, pp.75-86.

²⁵⁰ Copies of that treatise were in possession of both Cameron and Quarenghi and might have been known to L'vov. Catalogue d'une Bibliotheque precieuse... *op.cit.*, p.90. Piervaleriano Angelini. 'Giacomo Quarenghi bibliofilo'. *op.cit.*, p.181.

the purpose of the structure. The domed room on the ground level is decorated with a wall painting representing garlands of flowers and other ornaments on the white background. (Plate 98) Thus the sublime emotions associated with the death and eternity evoked by the external appearance of the pyramid were contrasted with the trivial function of the interior. A further step in L'vov's witty investigation of that ancient type of structures was the pyramid of compressed earth which was probably built in Nikolskoe. One of L'vov's humorous verses mentions the pyramid erected from 'dust', 'contrary to the reason and to insult the eternity, but to the amusement of clever people'.²⁵¹

L'vov obviously knew about Egyptian pyramids and could have seen the pyramidal tomb of Caius Cestius in Rome built in first century BC.²⁵² However, his interpretation of that type of structures must also have been influenced by the examples of contemporary architecture. British architects pioneered the revival of the pyramid in the late 1720s. Following the ancient Egyptian and Roman precedents that form was normally used for a commemorative function, for instance the pyramid in memory of Lord William Howard built by Lord Carlisle at Castle Howard in 1728. By the end of eighteenth century, pyramids became a common decorative feature in the English parks across Europe. In the process of assimilation into the Picturesque scenery the original sepulchral purpose of such structures was frequently substituted by other functions: the pyramids were used

²⁵¹ N.I.Nikulina. op.cit., p.75. For the discussion of L'vov's project of developing earth construction in Russia see the last chapter.

²⁵² Literature about the architecture of ancient Egypt was accessible in Russia. For instance, Cameron possessed an illustrated volume of *De l'architecture égyptienne*. See: *Catalogue d'une Bibliothèque précieuse...* op.cit., p.135.

as kitchens, wine cellars, larders, and the like.²⁵³ One of the first structures of that type in Russia was the pyramid built at Tsarskoe Selo by Vasilii Neelov in 1771 and rebuilt by Cameron in 1783. The pyramid, which contained a collection of antique vases and urns, is similar in size and structure to the cellar in Nikolskoe: both buildings are constructed of brick and faced with stone. That structure could have demonstrated to L'vov the possibility of using the pyramids for the purposes other than that of a tomb. L'vov produced several designs for pyramids, yet none of them were used as mausolea.

Recently, James Stevens Curl has suggested that the pyramids were frequently associated with freemasonry, for instance, in the park of Monceau in Paris, which belonged to the prominent freemason Duc de Chartres and embodied an elaborate Masonic programme.²⁵⁴ In 1777, L'vov visited the Palace and the park of Monceau and saw the pyramid and the rotunda, which may have influenced his subsequent designs. Although there is not sufficient evidence to suggest that L'vov's designs for the pyramids were inspired by ideas of freemasonry, the architect was undoubtedly aware of the symbolism associated with pyramids.

For example, L'vov used the motif of a pyramid in a relief in the main hall of the Senate in St. Petersburg, executed between 1779 and 1781. The relief depicted Catherine entering a temple of the Glory represented as a circular structure surrounded by columns. The Empress was accompanied by three symbolic

²⁵³ Howard Colvin. Architecture and the After-Life. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1991, p.331.

²⁵⁴ James Stevens Curl. The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry. op.cit., p.182-183.

figures of Truth, Conscience and Charity. The unity and firmness of those virtues were symbolised by a prismatic pyramid at a distance.

The idea to combine a rotunda and a pyramid in one composition was subsequently realised by L'vov in the church of the Holy Trinity built from 1785 until 1787 on the estate of Alexandrovskoe on the outskirts of St.Petersburg, which belonged to the Duke Alexander Viazemskii, one of the chief officials in the State Senate. The church is a rotunda of the Ionic order, while the pyramid serves as a dwelling house and accommodates the belfry on the third level. (Plate 99)

Since it was Viazemskii, who granted L'vov the commission to produce the programme for the relief in the Senate and to design the church in Alexandrovskoe, which was dedicated to the generosity of the Empress, the influence of the composition of the relief on the formal arrangement of the church and the adjacent pyramid seems possible.²⁵⁵

Such juxtaposition of the two forms is unique in Russian architecture. The idea to combine a circular building and a pyramid in one composition may have been invented by L'vov in collaboration with Quarenghi, who frequently depicted both types of structures in the drawings of imaginary landscapes.²⁵⁶ (Plate 100)

²⁵⁵ N.D.Sokolova. 'Troitskaia tserkov' za Nevskoi zastavoi. (Kulich i Paskha).' Unpublished historic study. Leningrad, 1946. The Archive of the State Inspection of the Preservation of the Monuments of St. Petersburg. N-38/I. P.26, pp.21-22, 24.

²⁵⁶ Quarenghi also recorded L'vov's church of the Holy Trinity in one of his sketches. See: V.I.Piliavskii. op.cit., p.57.

The idea to build both the rotunda and the pyramid in Nikolskoe and to combine the two forms in the church of the Trinity finds a parallel in the works of John Soane, who used the form of a pyramid in the design for an Egyptian Temple and produced a number of variations of the composition of a rotunda inspired by Roman Pantheon, one of his favourite buildings.²⁵⁷ Soane combined the forms of the pyramid and the rotunda in the design for the mausoleum of James King published in his Designs in Architecture in 1778. During his stay in Italy, Soane designed the mausoleum for Earl of Chatham, which is stylistically analogous to L'vov's structures.²⁵⁸ The mausoleum combines the rotunda decorated with the Greek Doric order in the exterior and the pyramids. The dome of low profile ornamented with steps, the top lighting of the interior through an oculus of the Pantheon and two skylights, several decorative motifs, such as the frieze of garlands, inspired by that of the tomb of Caecilia Metella and the formal purism of the style are also characteristic for L'vov's designs, such as those for St. Joseph's. Soane's interest in freemasonry, which found its expression in the design for the Freemasons' Hall built in Great Queen street in London from 1828 until 1830, may have been one of the reasons for the architect to turn his attention to the motif of the pyramid.

The smithy in Nikolskoe was built in 1783 into the Petrova hill to the west of the house and was constructed of lime stone and broken boulders set on lime mortar. (Plate 101) The structure is a further step in L'vov's exploration of the origins of

²⁵⁷ The design for the pyramidal temple is illustrated in: Pierre du Prey. op.cit., fig.5.5.

architecture: it was probably inspired by Vitruvius' description of the buildings made by the savages in natural hillocks.²⁵⁹ The function of the smithy also expresses the idea of the design: the fire inside the structure must have stirred one's fantasy and made it easier to imagine the life of prehistoric people. Characteristically for L'vov, the building combines its role in the decoration of the garden and the practical purpose.

Other structures built of rough stones, such as bridges, dikes and fences, existed in Nikolskoe and are common in other gardens attributed to L'vov. The architect's unusual interest in that type of construction could well have been prompted by his Scottish associates. Indeed, structures of rough rubble have traditionally been used throughout Scotland and, until twentieth century, frequently served as dwellings. The expertise of L'vov's Scots, most of whom were listed as stonemasons, guaranteed the high quality of the stonework.²⁶⁰

The method of construction of the threshing barn in Nikolskoe was innovative for Russian architecture: the building consisted of a framework of red brick filled with lime mortar and layers of smashed brick. A similar technique, called 'Clay and Bool' has traditionally been used in Scotland in earth houses, in which layers of stones were inserted into the walls, for instance, in the cottages in Urquhart in

²⁵⁸ Earl of Chatham mausoleum design is illustrated in: Pierre du Prey. *ibid.*, fig.9.6.

²⁵⁹ Vitruvius. *op.cit.*, p.40.

²⁶⁰ Adam Menelaws, David Cuninghame, John Miller, Walter Irving and William Hastie were listed as stonemasons. Anthony G. Cross. 'Cameron's Scottish Workmen'. *op.cit.*, p.63. The occupation of the workmen is given according to the list, compiled in 1784 and published by Cross, pp.71-72.

Moray.²⁶¹ It is possible that Menelaws or other L'vov's Scottish workmen participated in the construction of the threshing barn and used that British method of building.

The concept of the elementary forms of architecture expressed in the buildings in Nikolskoe is developed in the church and the bell tower erected from 1783 until 1791 in the village of Arpachiovo, which belonged to L'vov's uncles Nikolai Petrovich and Piotr Petrovich L'vov and is situated two kilometres away from Nikolskoe.²⁶² The church combines the motifs derived from the cathedrals of St. Joseph and Sts. Boris and Gleb: the plan is based on a square with semicircular projections of the altar and at the entrance, the north and south facades are decorated with the hexastyle porticoes of the Greek Doric order, while the rotunda in the interior is ornamented with the columns of the Ionic order and covered with the octagonal dome. (Plate 102) The bell tower is one of the most eloquent expressions of Neo-Classical purity of form in L'vov's architecture. (Plate 103) The ground storey of the structure is similar to the church: the main cuboid block decorated with pediments is flanked by two semicircular volumes. The basement is rusticated in order to add to the visual solidity to the edifice. The cylindrical tower resting on it has sparse ornamentation: the visual impact is created by its massiveness and the simplicity of the silhouette. The octagonal top of the tower completes the collection of the elementary geometric forms used in the design.

²⁶¹ Bruce Walker, Christopher McGregor in association with Rebecca Little. Earth Construction and Structures in Scotland. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 1996.

²⁶² M.V. Budylna et al. op.cit., p.70.

L'vov's designs for Nikolskoe and Arpachiovo embody an original approach to the fundamental issues of late eighteenth century architecture. The Neo-Classical notion of 'noble simplicity' and the drive to return to the origins of the art of building were fully elaborated in L'vov's designs. The structures in Nikolskoe represent the major stages in the development of architecture as it was perceived by Vitruvius and contemporary theorists. The 'primeval' primitiveness of the smithy is followed by the elementary geometry of the pyramid, the store for fire wood illustrates the origins of the orders in Greek architecture, while the rotunda epitomises the essence of ancient Roman architecture and one of the major aspects of Renaissance architecture. The culmination of the development of the art of building is represented by the Palladian house and the bell tower in Arpachiovo, which is a formula of the pure geometry.

The structures in Nikolskoe became models for imitation by other estate owners in the Torzhok region. A few examples will be sufficient to suggest that the Scottish workmen were involved in disseminating L'vov's designs.

The estate Znamenskoe (Raiok), situated twenty kilometres east of Torzhok, belonged to the family of the general and Senator Glebov-Streshnev and was built during the late 1780s and 1790s. It is attributed to L'vov because the style of the manor house and several garden pavilions on the estate is similar to the structures in Nikolskoe.²⁶³ This hypothesis is substantiated by the fact that a

²⁶³ Ibid., p.23. There is no substantial documentary evidence of L'vov's authorship.

number of L'vov's assistants were in charge of the construction of the estate, for instance, Frants Butsy, the architect of the city of Torzhok, who also participated in the construction of the cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb.²⁶⁴ Walter Irving worked in Znamenskoe from the beginning of the 1790s until 1797 during the period of the most extensive building works. He was entrusted to complete the house and its magnificent elliptical colonnade, to erect garden pavilions, such as the store decorated with a rotunda, and the chapel on the Vasilieva hill situated in the vicinity of the estate.²⁶⁵

The house in Znamenskoe is influenced by Palladian models: its main cuboid block is decorated with a Doric portico at the main entrance and a loggia on the garden facade, the house is surmounted with a cupola, the service buildings are joined to the main block by Doric colonnades. (Plate 104)

The interior of the house has much in common with L'vov's designs: the central hall is lit through the double cupola and a number of details in the ornamentation of the interior, such as the decorative motifs above the doors, are identical to the house in Nikolskoe. (Plate 105) The main rooms of the house situated on the second floor form a suite, which consists of the dining room, the drawing and the bedroom with the adjacent smaller rooms. The oval form of the salon is, as we have seen, typical for L'vov's method of planning. The incorporation of the oval

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p.23

²⁶⁵ Two storeys of the house had already been completed in 1789, i.e. before Irving was made in charge of the works, the chapel was constructed simultaneously with the colonnade and the service buildings of the house in 1794-1795, the store dates from 1795-1796. Ibid., pp.24, 83, 84.

room and the square loggia into the rectangular structure may have been influenced by the concept of formal integration of spaces of different plans into a regular block, which L'vov could have learned as early as 1777 when he observed Ledoux's pavilion for Madame du Barry.

The oval shaped yard is unique in the architecture of Russian country estates and could have been inspired by the design for the Imperial Palace at Pella, near St.Petersburg, started by Starov in 1785. The huge complex at Pella destroyed by the order of Paul I included an elliptical forecourt surrounded by colonnades which connected the main structure to smaller buildings. (Plate 106)

The store consisted of the airy rotunda of ten Roman Doric columns contrasted with the 'primitive' arch at the entrance made of large stones, which is strongly reminiscent of the pyramid in Nikolskoe.²⁶⁶ The inner structure of the store with the special compartment for ice and vaulted ceilings is identical in both structures. (Plate 107)

L'vov's familiarity with the up-to-date vocabulary of Neo-Classical forms is further exemplified by the design of a garden pavilion for Znamenskoe. (Plate 108) The building, which is now destroyed, had an entrance in the form of a semicircular porch with a covered and coffered ceiling and was decorated with two Doric columns supporting an architrave with a sculptural ornament on top of it. A similar design was used by Cameron in the Memorial to the parents of

²⁶⁶ The store in Znamenskoe collapsed during the 1980s.

Maria, built at Pavlovsk in 1786, and is reminiscent of the apses decorated with a screen of columns at the ends of the dining room in Syon House in London designed by Robert Adam in 1760. That motif of the apse and the screen of two columns may have been a combination of features in the etchings by Piranesi published in Vedute di Roma: plate sixteen depicts the ruined apse of the Temple of Venus in Rome and the screens of columns in the interior of the Pantheon are represented in the plate eighty six. L'vov could have used both Cameron's pavilion and Piranesi's prints as his sources, since he is known to have visited Pavlovsk and possessed all editions of Piranesi.²⁶⁷ A semicircular porch with Ionic columns holding an architrave ornamented with a sculptural group was used by Ledoux as the entrance to the House for Mlle Guimard in Paris, built in 1770. (Plate 109) The use of the similar motif by Ledoux and L'vov is the evidence that the ideas of the both architects were developing in the same direction.

The chapel on Vasilieva hill is another example of the similarity between the designs of Ledoux and L'vov. The cylindrical volume of the chapel under the low cupola is surrounded with the colonnade of the sixteen Ionic columns. (Plate 110) The exterior of the building and its harmonious relationship with the surrounding rural landscape remind one of Ledoux's Rotunda in the park of Monceau with its colonnade of sixteen Doric columns and the central cylindrical volume protruding above it built for the Duc d'Orléans during the 1780s.²⁶⁸ (Plate 111)

²⁶⁷ See quote from Ivan Ivanov's letter to his friend A.Kh.Vostokov of 29th of August 1799 in A.N.Glumov. op.cit., p.160.

²⁶⁸ A.Vidler. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. op.cit., pp.227-228.

The chapel on Vasilieva hill is a variation of the concept of the rotunda embodied in the mausoleum in Nikolskoe. It is also an attempt to achieve the purity of form unadulterated by excessive decoration and in that respect reminds one of the bell tower in Arpachiovo.

The wine cellar in the form of the four-sided pyramid was built at the end of the eighteenth century in Mitino, an estate in the northern outskirts of Torzhok. The estate belonged to a family of the L'vov's, which was apparently unrelated to that of the architect. The structure is similar to the pyramid in Nikolskoe and is attributed to L'vov.²⁶⁹ (Plate 112) The pyramid is situated on the high bank of the river Tvertsa and creates one of the most picturesque views in the scenery of the estate. The arches made of gigantic multicoloured stones decorate two opposite sides of the pyramid. Interestingly enough, the wall of the portal facing the river is finished with the roughcast thrown upon the surface with a trowel. (Plate 113) That technique of plastering, uncommon in Russia, was widespread in Scotland during eighteenth century and used for stone, brick and earth walls.²⁷⁰ It is therefore possible to suggest that some of L'vov's Scottish workmen, possibly Walter Irving or Menelaws, assisted the architect in his work in Mitino.

The so called 'Devil's bridge' in Vasiliovo, an estate situated across the river from Mitino, is another L'vov's structure in the 'primitive' style and resembles the smithy in Nikolskoe. Its brick framework is faced with huge boulders and a

²⁶⁹ M.V.Budylna et al. *op.cit.*, p.85.

room in the substructure is decorated with a 'serliana' made of gigantic stones. (Plate 114) This primitive 'serliana' reflects the interest in rudimentary forms characteristic for Neo-Classicism. The bridge was the most prominent feature in a system of dikes and bridges made of rough stones, which decorated the park but is now destroyed.

Further, Menelaws, Hastie and Irving could also have assisted in building L'vov's church of St.Catherine completed by 1791 and situated near one of the transit Palaces of the Empress in Valdai, a town halfway between Torzhok and St.Petersburg. (Plate 115) In contrast to the rotunda in Nikolskoe, the structure is surrounded by eight Ionic columns, it does not have the double-shelled dome, but is lit through two tiers of windows in the walls and small openings in the cupola. However, the segmental extension of the altar is similar to the church in Nikolskoe. During 1786, L'vov together with Menelaws and Hastie prospected for coal in the Valdai region,²⁷¹ while Irving, who also was an experienced builder, continued that enterprise on the large scale as the head the group of L'vov's coal miners from 1786 until L'vov's death in 1803.²⁷²

The large size and ample decoration of L'vov's country houses, particularly Vvedenskoe and Znamenskoe, is similar to Cameron's Palace at Pavlovsk and

²⁷⁰ Bruce Walker et al. op.cit., p.87.

²⁷¹ Jeremy Howard and Sergei Kuznetsov. 'Scottish Architects in Tsarist Russia'. History Today. Vol. 46 (2), February 1996, p.37; see also L'vov's letter to Count Alexander Vorontsov of 25 August 1786 from Valdai, Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova. vol. 32, Moscow, 1886, p.506.

²⁷² See: Irving's application for a state pension of 8 March 1804, which contains details of his employment under L'vov. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N100, pp.126 and reverse.

Quarenghi's designs for the houses in Lialichi for Count Zavadovskii and Stol'noe for Bezborodko, all of which date from the 1780s. Those designs combine the three part composition of the Palladian villa with opulent decoration of the facade. Both Cameron and Quarenghi were expected to emphasise the palatial character of the houses to reflect the high status of their owners. In this respect, Cameron and Quarenghi's designs were similar to the country houses of British nobility, in which Palladian style was adopted to the designs of stately homes. Both architects must have been aware of that peculiar turn of Palladian tradition in Britain. For instance, Quarenghi in the design of the English Palace at Perterhof drew inspiration from the composition of the house for Ralph Allen in Prior Park, near Bath built by John Wood in the middle of eighteenth century. Both structures have three storeys and fifteen bays on the main facade decorated with Corinthian porticoes accessed by a wide flight of steps. The house in Prior Park was an imitation of the first design for Wanstead which was one of the most famous Palladian houses in Britain popularised by Colen Campbell in Vitruvius Britannicus.²⁷³

L'vov developed the concept of the Palace as a country residence in his design for the house on the estate of Voronovo situated 20 km from Podol'sk, west of Moscow.²⁷⁴ The house which he built for the senator Artemii Ivanovich Vorontsov during the 1790s is an imitation of Quarenghi's design for the Palace of Lord Haggerston in Northumberland produced in 1777. (Plates 116, 117) For

²⁷³ T.Mowl and B.Earnshaw. op.cit., p.103-104.

²⁷⁴ The house in Voronovo was rebuilt several times and lost its resemblance to the original design.

instance, the magnificent Ionic porticoes of eight giant columns resting on the rusticated ground floor are identical in both buildings. The design of the narrow side wings of the house in Voronovo reminds one the composition of the villa Pisani near Montagnana illustrated in Palladio's Quattro libri. (Plate 118)

L'vov's design for Voronovo has much in common with Moscow town houses, for instance, that of the businessman Mikhail Pavlovich Gubin, whose fortunes made from his enterprises in the Urals provided him with sufficient funds to commission Matvei Kazakov a palatial-style residence built during the 1790s on Petrovka street. (Plate 119) Both Vorontsov's and Gubin's houses have three storeys: the ground floor was used for service functions, the main rooms were situated on the first floor and the living area on the second floor.²⁷⁵ The composition of the main facade of Gubin's residence decorated with a portico of six giant Corinthian columns resting on the rusticated basement and the two storey additions on the both sides of the structure with a combination of an arched window, architrave and pilasters on the first floor are reminiscent of the house in Voronovo. Formal gardens were laid out behind both buildings, that diminished the difference between the house in the country and that of in the city. The notion of propriety of the country style to the city surroundings was analysed by L'vov in his essay on the park of Bezborodko in Moscow. (See chapter III, part III, and appendix I)

²⁷⁵ A.I.Vlasiuk et al. op.cit., pp.212-213.

The analysis of L'vov's domestic buildings and country estates demonstrates his leading role among Russian architects of the late eighteenth century. The ingenuity of his designs does not fade in comparison with the works of progressive European architects. L'vov's ability to combine Palladian style and convenient planning finds its closest analogies in the buildings by Ledoux, for instance, Hotel de Montmorency, Chaussée d'Antin, built in Paris in 1769. L'vov's knowledge of the works of Ledoux may not have been limited to his visit to the Pavilion of Madame du Barry in Louveciennes. Grand Duke Paul accepted Ledoux's dedication of the book L'architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation and, in 1789, he received a set of two hundred seventy three engravings of built and commissioned works of Ledoux.²⁷⁶ L'vov could well have seen those prints, especially after 1796 when he became one of Paul's favourite architects. (See chapters III and IV). Ledoux was a member of the elitist cultural circle, the members of which were also well known in Russia.²⁷⁷ One of his most influential patrons was Marquis de Montesquiou, whose writings, particularly Esprit des Lois, were instrumental in shaping the political philosophy of both Catherine and Paul.²⁷⁸ The circle also included Abbé Delille, whose poem Les Jardins, ou l'art d'embellir les paysages (Paris, 1782) was translated by Vasilii Kapnist and studied by L'vov.²⁷⁹ Another

²⁷⁶ The first and only volume of L'architecture was published as late as 1804 with the dedication to the Emperor Alexander I, that demonstrates the continuity of the connection between Ledoux and the Russian Imperial Court. A.Vidler. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. op.cit., pp.377, 379, 380.

²⁷⁷ Ledoux's connections are considered in: A.Vidler. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. op.cit., pp.45-46.

²⁷⁸ Isabel de Madariaga. Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great. op.cit., pp.9, 152; Roderick E. McGrew. op.cit., pp.48, 64.

²⁷⁹ N.A.L'vov. Izbrannye sochineniia. op.cit., pp.367.

member of Ledoux's circle, the painter Madame Vigée-Lebrun worked in Russia in 1795.²⁸⁰ The paintings of antique ruins and picturesque parks by Hubert Robert, which influenced Ledoux's aesthetics, were also popular at the Russian court, for instance, the Grand Duke Paul commissioned from the artist a number of canvases during his stay in Paris in 1782. It is possible to suggest that L'vov was acquainted with the ideas which circulated in Ledoux's circle and that the common artistic aspirations of the two architects resulted from their awareness of the latest developments in the French culture.

The treatise by Palladio was probably L'vov's inspiration in conceiving a publication of his own designs. Catherine's decree of 8th of December 1786 allocated the state funding for the printing of L'vov's literary works, translations, designs and drawings. Around 1791, L'vov proposed publication of thirty engraved designs of his buildings, such as the Government Offices in St.Petersburg, the Cathedrals of the Kazan Mother of God, Sts. Boris and Gleb, the structures in Nikolskoe and in the provinces.²⁸¹ That project, had it been realized, would have been the first publication of the designs by a Russian architect and an important step in creating the national school of architecture. L'vov's endeavour is characteristic for the eighteenth-century architects whose designs were published and had wide circulation. In Russia, the French architect Vallin de la Mothe was the first to publish his designs for the Palace of Count

²⁸⁰ Isabel de Madariaga. Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great. op.cit., p. 533.

²⁸¹ The 'notice' to the Administrative Offices, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N114, pp.1-21. The draft of the contract with the engraver Stepan Ivanov of 8th of February 1791, which contains the list of the designs, is included into that file.

Chernyshev. He was followed in 1787 by Quarenghi who published an album containing seven designs of the Theatre of the Hermitage. However, L'vov's project was not completed, since in 1792 the Empress prohibited all private publishing initiatives in order to stop any unauthorised flow of information from revolutionary France.²⁸²

²⁸² A number of engravings, such as the summer house in Lialichi, the house in Nikolskoe and the Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb, kept in the Shchusev Museum of Architecture were probably executed for that project, because those buildings are included in the list agreed with Stepan Ivanov.

CHAPTER III

GRAND PROJECTS FOR MOSCOW

PART I

THE KREMLIN PALACE

The accession to the throne of Paul I in 1796 opened up new possibilities for L'vov's creative work and the progress of his career. On the 8th of November, two days after Catherine's death, L'vov was sent to the Moscow Kremlin to fetch the regalia and utensils necessary for the coronations of Russian Tsars and bring them to St.Petersburg. These were used during an unprecedented ceremony staged by Paul, who himself crowned the remains of his father Peter III murdered in 1762 by Catherine's supporters. The men who killed Peter III were obliged by Paul to transport the coffin from the Alexander Nevskii monastery in which it was originally laid to the Winter Palace, where it was displayed alongside the body of the late Empress. Both corpses were subsequently buried in the Cathedral of Sts.Peter and Paul.²⁸³ This dramatic performance must have demonstrated to L'vov not just Paul's resentment of what Catherine and her accomplices did, but also his predilection for mysticism and his belief in the spiritual power of religious rituals. L'vov's experience in writing plays²⁸⁴ enabled him to participate in the organisation of theatrical productions for the Tsar, who loved

²⁸³ A.N.Glumov. *op.cit.*, p.142; Roderick E.McGrew. *op.cit.*, pp.193-195.

²⁸⁴ L'vov wrote four plays: a musical play 'Sil'f, ili Mechta molodoi zhenshchiny' ('Silf, or a Dream of a Young Woman'), 1778-1790s, scenes from peasants' life in 'Iamshchiki na podstave' ('Coachmen at a Relay'), published in Tambov in 1788, a pastoral 'Milet i Mileta' ('Milet and Mileta'), 1794, an opera 'Parisov sud' ('The Judgement of Paris'), 1796, and an interlude

theatre. For instance, according to a letter of the court physician John Rogerson to Counts Vorontsov, L'vov staged celebrations and surprises at Pavlovsk.²⁸⁵ Moreover, Rogerson pointed out that L'vov became 'the main employee of the Emperor' and had a wide range of commitments, such as the preparation of buildings for the reception of the Court during Paul's coronation and setting up the School of earth construction in Moscow. In 1796, Tsar allocated state funding for the printing L'vov's literary works, translations and designs.²⁸⁶ As a result L'vov was able to publish his translation of Palladio in 1798. L'vov considered himself one of the people close to the Tsar and emphasised that he had no other superior in all his enterprises except for the monarch.²⁸⁷

L'vov was probably promoted at the court of Paul by Bezborodko, whose service was appreciated by the Tsar. For instance, Bezborodko allocated his house in Moscow, which was given the name of the Slobodskoi Palace, for the accommodation of the Tsar and the Court during Paul's coronation in spring of 1797. The refurbishment of the Palace probably built to Quarenghi's designs during the 1790s was entrusted to L'vov, Matvei Kazakov and Vasilii Bazhenov.²⁸⁸ Bazhenov designed the Palace church, Kazakov built service

'Prolog' ('The Preface'), 1783. Published in: N.A.L'vov. Izbrannye sochineniia. op.cit. However, L'vov did not achieve significant recognition as a playwright.

²⁸⁵ The letter dates from the summer of 1798, Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova, vol.30, Moscow, 1884, p.101.

²⁸⁶ The copy of Paul's note of 19th of December, 1796, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 114, p.15.

²⁸⁷ RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, p.228 reverse.

²⁸⁸ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.26; A.I.Vlasiuk et al. op.cit., pp.284-286; S.Razgonov.

V.I.Bazhenov. Moscow: Iskusstvo. 1985, pp.145, 147. The house was destroyed by fire in 1812.

structures and linked the Slobodskoi Palace with the late seventeenth-century Lefortovskii Palace situated nearby. L'vov designed the apartments of the Emperor, such as the long 'Morning Hall' decorated by semicircular recesses screened by double pairs of columns, the motif similar to the one he had previously used in the garden pavilion in Znamenskoe.²⁸⁹

The idea of the fruitful exchange of ideas between Bazhenov, Kazakov and L'vov, which may have accompanied their co-operative work on the project of rebuilding the Slobodskoi Palace has been overlooked by scholars. For example, two service wings built by Kazakov in the rectangular courtyard of the Palace had the form of a semicircle interrupted in the middle to allow access from the entrance to the main block of the structure. (Plate 120) Kazakov's design is identical to that of the service buildings in the courtyard of L'vov's Post Office in St.Peterburg. As it has been pointed out above, the only double-shelled cupola used by Kazakov appeared in the church of the Golitsyn hospital in Moscow, built from 1796 until 1801.

L'vov must have paid particular attention to Bazhenov and Kazakov's designs especially those for the Kremlin and the structures built in the Neo-Gothic style. It is essential to compare L'vov's work in Moscow with the projects

See: I.E.Bondarenko. Arkhitektori Matvei Fiodorovich Kazakov. Moscow: Izdanie Moskovskogo Arkhitekturnogo Obshchestva. 1912, p.28.

²⁸⁹ L'vov's 'designs for the upper and lower storeys in the house of Count Bezborodko designated for a special apartment of His Imperial Majesty' are kept in the Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv (Russian State Military Historical Archive) in Moscow, fond 418, N.18.

commissioned to Bazhenov and Kazakov by Catherine the Great and Paul I and to investigate how different requirements of the two monarchs were met by the architects. Such an approach would make it possible to examine the radical change of attitude towards the architectural heritage of Moscow which took place at the end of the eighteenth century. In fact, the reappraisal of the Medieval Russian architecture for the first time manifested itself in L'vov's study of the antiquities of Moscow and his project of the Kremlin Palace, both produced in 1797. It will be argued that a preservationist viewpoint was developed by L'vov in opposition to the concept of renovation of the Kremlin in the Neo-Classical style suggested by Bazhenov three decades earlier.

The removal of the state capital to St.Petersburg by Peter the Great in 1713 considerably diminished the importance of Moscow. During a greater part of the eighteenth century, the attention of the authorities and the resources of the Empire were concentrated on extensive building works in St.Petersburg, while Moscow developed without significant control from the government. Its Medieval monuments suffered from the lack of proper maintenance. For example, the fires of 1701 and 1737 as well as deterioration of the unoccupied buildings damaged the Kremlin Palace to such an extent that by the middle of the eighteenth century a number of apartments and landings could not be entered because of their crumbling condition.²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰ This fact was pointed out in a survey of the old Kremlin Palace prepared in 1753 by the architects Dmitrii Ukhtomskii and Evlashov. See: N.Ia.Tikhomirov, V.N.Ivanov. Moskovskii Kreml' (The Moscow Kremlin). Moscow: Izdatel'stvo literatury po stroitel'stvu. 1967, p.188.

The appearance of the Kremlin did not correspond to the rationalistic principles of architecture in 'the age of reason'. The complex of Palaces, private houses, ecclesiastical, administrative and service buildings as well as squares, yards and gardens developed through centuries and lacked a uniform planning scheme. The old Palace, located in the south-west part of the Kremlin, included the late fifteenth-century Chamber of the Facets (*Granovitaia palata*) constructed by the Italian architects Marco Ruffo and Pietro Antonio Solario for Ivan III and used as the throne and audience room, the Teremnoi Palace built for the Tsar Mikhail Romanov in 1635-1636 and a number of churches. These and other dwelling and service blocks of the Palace were built upon or added to earlier structures, each had different proportions and decorative schemes and were connected by passageways, porches and stairs.

The first attempt to re-establish the role of the Kremlin as the architectural embodiment of the idea of the Russian state was made by Vasilii Bazhenov (1737-1799), who was commissioned by Catherine the Great to reconstruct the Kremlin Palace in 1767. The designs produced by Bazhenov represented a crucial step in developing the concept of Neo-Classical Moscow and considerably influenced subsequent projects for the Kremlin, which were conceived either as a continuation of or a departure from Bazhenov's ideas. Therefore, it is essential to consider Bazhenov's concept in some detail in order to illuminate the context for L'vov's projects for Moscow.

Bazhenov designed one of the grandest edifices known in history. (Plate 121) In his '*Kratkoe rassuzhdenie o Kremlevskom stroenii*' ('Short Discourse on the

Kremlin Building'), the architect stated that the magnificent Palace, which he planned to build, would

fascinate with <its> beauty the vast lands of the Russian Empire, outshine the glory of the seven wonders of the world; European nations having seen the new Kremlin <...> would be overwhelmed with surprise of its grandeur and greatness and would no longer see the beauty of their own excellencies.²⁹¹

The buildings which Bazhenov intended to emulate included the temple to Diana (Artemis) in Ephesus, considered one of the seven wonders of the world, St.Peter's in Rome, the Cathedral in Florence, St.Mark's in Venice, St.Paul's in London, Parisian ensembles and famous structures, for instance, Place de la Vandôme and Soufflot's Church of Ste.Geneviève, and others.

A large scale publicity campaign was carried out in order to make the project known both in Russia and abroad. The grand ceremonies of 'the extraction of the first earth' (vynutie pervoi zemli) for the foundation on the 9th of August 1772 and laying the first stone of the Palace on the 1st of June 1773 were attended by high state officials and reviewed in central newspapers, such as 'Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti'²⁹², the model of the Kremlin made to Bazhenov's designs was displayed for public view both in St.Petersburg and Moscow and demonstrated to foreigners, for instance, to the khan of the

²⁹¹ The 'Short Discourse on the Kremlin Building' was published in: N.Morents. 'Novye materialy o Bazhenove' ('New Materials on Bazhenov'). Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo (Architectural Heritage). 1. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo literatury po stroitel'stvu i arkhitekture. 1951, pp.98-99.

²⁹² V.L.Snegiriov. op.cit., p.80.

subjugated Crimea.²⁹³ One of the purposes of such a publicity was to demonstrate that Russia had enough resources for both waging a full-scale war against Turkey and building on a grand scale.

At the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Palace, Bazhenov delivered a speech which he started with the proclamation of the ultimate purpose of his work: the renovation of the Kremlin should have signalled the rebirth of Moscow as the Third Rome.²⁹⁴ He supported this statement by emphasising the importance of Russian victories in the war against Turkey. Large paintings conceived by Bazhenov which decorated the site of the ceremony illustrated the destruction of the Turkish fleet in the battle of Chesme and the defeat of the Turkish army and the capture of the town of Bender in Moldavia in 1770, while the verses composed by the poet Alexander Sumarokov and inscribed on decorative panels hailed Russia as a mighty state ready to eliminate the centuries long threat to the Christianity from the Moslem Asia: 'Vzletaia na vostok, oriol rossiiskii bleshchet. Kolebletsia Stambul I Azia trepeshchet' ('Flying up over the East the Russian eagle is shining. Istanbul is shaking and Asia is trembling').²⁹⁵

²⁹³ For a description of the visit of the Crimean khan to the building in Moscow, in which the model was kept, in 1773, see an extract from the diary of Bazhenov's associate Fiodor Karzhavin published by N.Morents. op.cit., p.104.

²⁹⁴ V.I.Bazhenov. 'Slovo na zalozenie Kremlevskogo dvortsa' ('A Declaration on the Foundation of the Kremlin Palace'). Published in: V.L.Snegiriov. op.cit., pp.220-223.

²⁹⁵ For a description of the ceremony see: V.L.Snegiriov. op.cit., p.81-85.

Bazhenov credited the Empress with bringing a new epoch of power and prosperity to Russia. He compared Catherine to Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, war and patronage of arts and crafts:

The Great Sovereign! You were delivered the sceptre of Russia from God. The victory obeys you, following your army. You care for the orphaned, poverty-stricken and humiliated. You are entrusted with improving mores, laws, enlightening minds; architecture zealously glorifies you, you are revered as Russian Pallas, and Moscow is grateful to you for that you remember about her in such a time, when your crowned head is burdened with numerous vigilant thoughts.²⁹⁶

The reconstruction of the Kremlin must also have emphasised the idea of the continuation by Catherine of the policies of the great Russian rulers of the past, particularly Grand Duke Ivan III, who succeeded in making Moscow principality the dominant force in Medieval Russia and rebuilt the Kremlin. In his speech, Bazhenov stressed that the Empress emulated Ivan III: 'She has surpassed in her victories glorious monarch Ioann <...> and now <she> is striving to surpass him in embellishing Moscow.'²⁹⁷ In fact, Catherine despite her origins in the German principality of Anhalt-Zerbst was eager to represent herself as a rightful successor to previous Russian rulers at the time when the true heir to the crown Grand Duke Paul, the son of Catherine and Peter III and the great grand son of Peter the Great, was reaching his majority in 1773. Thus, the portrait galleries in Chesme Palace in St.Petersburg and in the Grand Palace at Peterhof commissioned by Catherine during the 1770s consisted of images of herself at prominent places

²⁹⁶ V.I.Bazhenov. 'Slovo na zalozenie Kremlevskogo dvortsa'. op.cit., pp.222-223.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p.221.

among the portraits of other Russian sovereigns. The fact that Bazhenov's project of the reconstruction of the Kremlin served to convey Catherine's self-aggrandising declarations may have been one of the reasons why Paul subsequently avoided any reference to Bazhenov's design in his own schemes for rebuilding the Kremlin.

Bazhenov's ambitious project encompassed several tasks: apart from building a new Palace, the architect redesigned the entire complex of the Kremlin and intended to 'improve' the chaotic layout of Moscow according to rationalistic principles. The plan proposed by Bazhenov was based on three axial routes originating in the Kremlin and leading to the roads to the ancient Russian capital of Kiev, the religious centre in Sergiev Posad near Moscow, and St.Petersburg. The irregular pentagonal outline of the Borovitskii hill on which the Kremlin stands was given a more 'correct' form approximating a triangle. Inside the Kremlin, Bazhenov planned to introduce a new spatial organisation based on straight avenues and circular, semicircular, triangular and oval squares. (Plate 122) The Neo-Classical facade of the Palace situated on the south side of the complex was to be decorated with rustication on the ground and first floors and a colonnade of giant Ionic columns above. The building was to contain all functions previously located in numerous structures of the old Palace. The two lower floors were to house servants, guards and service rooms, the main floor was to contain the apartments of Catherine and state rooms, such as the main hall surrounded with a double Corinthian colonnade of pink marble, the courtiers were to live on the top floor, which was also to house a library and a cloak room.

The Palace was designed to form a unified ensemble with the new administrative building of colleges on the west side of the Kremlin and a theatre on the east.

The large scale reconstruction of the Kremlin was accompanied by the demolition of Medieval monuments, while those planned to be included in the new complex would have been dwarfed by the size of the proposed buildings. For example, edifices on the Cathedral (Sobornaia) square were preserved as homage to the early rulers of Moscow and symbols of Russian history and tradition. The late fifteenth-early-sixteenth century Assumption (Uspenskii) Cathedral, in which the coronations of Russian monarchs traditionally took place, the Cathedral of Archangel Michael, in which Russian rulers before Peter the Great were buried, the church of the Annunciation (Blagoveshchenie), the Chamber of the Facets and the main belfries of the Kremlin with the bell-tower called Ivan the Great (Ivan Velikii), the visual centre of Moscow, were incorporated into Bazhenov's design. They were to form an asymmetrical and picturesque group within the organised environment of the new Kremlin. However, the famous panoramic view of the Cathedral square from the other side of the river Moskva would have been obstructed by the long facade of the Palace.

The destruction of the ancient monuments, which was started in 1769, significantly altered the appearance of the Kremlin: the seventeenth-century building of the government offices (prikazy) facing the central Ivanovskaia square and the hanging gardens laid out on the roof of the Palace of Boris Godunov, the late fifteenth-century Treasury Building (Kazennyi Dvor), several churches, the houses belonging to clergy and the family of Princes Trubetskoi

were razed. A large section of the south wall and two towers were also demolished, however, they were rebuilt by Bazhenov in the old forms after his project was cancelled.²⁹⁸

The extensive demolition of the monuments in the ensemble which symbolised the Russian national identity provoked mixed response from the contemporaries and may have prompted them to take a close look at the antiquities of Moscow and to reassess the value of architectural heritage. For example, Gavriil Derzhavin in his ode 'Na sluchai razlomki Moskovskogo Kremliia dlia postroeniia novogo dvortsa' ('On the Occasion of the Destruction of the Moscow Kremlin for the Building of the New Palace') expressed both his sorrow for the loss of the ancient structures and amazement with Bazhenov's project:

Prosti prestol'nyi grad, velikolepno zdanie,
 Chudesnoi drevnosti Moskva, Rossii blistanie.
 Siiaiushchi verkhi I gordy vyshiny
 Na divo v davnii vek vy byli sozdany.
 V poslednii raz zriu vas, pokrovy okom meriu
 I v uzhase tomy divlius', somnius', ne veriu.
 Vozmozhno li grobam razrushit'sia, vosstat'
 I v prezhnei krasote chudnee protsvetat'?
 Tverdynam takovym kol' past' I vozstavliat'sia,
 To dolzhno, tak skazat', prirode premeniat'sia!
 No chto ne sbudetsia, gde khochet bozhestvo?
 Bazhenov! nachinai, - ustupit estestvo.

²⁹⁸ V.L.Snegiriov. op.cit., p.77; Arthur Voyce. The Moscow Kremlin. Its History, Architecture, and Art Treasures. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers. 1971 (first edition 1954), p.62.

(Farewell, the capital city, the beautiful edifice,/ Moscow of magic antiquity, the splendour of Russia./ The shining tops and proud heights,/ you were created in the past to wonder./ I behold you for the last time, <I> measure the skyline with my eye/ and <I> am astonished in terror, <I> doubt, disbelieve./ Would it be possible that the coffins <i.e. monuments> decayed, raised up/ and even more magically flourished in the former beauty?/ If such strongholds fell and raised/ then Nature, so to speak, would have to change!/ But what is beyond the will of deity? Bazhenov! begin - Nature will surrender.)²⁹⁹

The need to justify the partial destruction of the Medieval Kremlin may have one of the reasons for Bazhenov to include in his ceremonial speech a pioneering survey of the architecture of Moscow. His analysis integrated Russian architecture in a wider context of ancient Egyptian, Greek and Gothic architecture. Such an approach allowed Bazhenov to introduce principles of the assessment of the monuments of Moscow. The standards according to which he judged Russian architecture were influenced by his education: Bazhenov was trained in the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg and from 1760 acquired a thorough knowledge of early Neo-Classical architecture in the studio of Charles de Wailly in Paris. Bazhenov also examined ancient Roman monuments during his stay in Italy. His professionalism and highly developed taste were recognised by the Academy of St.Luke in Rome which offered him a professorship and by the Academies in Florence and Bologna which granted him their membership. Bazhenov believed that the rules developed by ancient Greeks and adopted by Romans set the standards of perfection, but these were subsequently corrupted and replaced by the impropriety of the Gothic architecture: 'when the Goths conquered Italy, they <...> without any rule or taste multiplying ornaments,

²⁹⁹ Quoted in: Felix Razumovskii. *op.cit.*, p.53.

introduced a new method of building.' The Saviour's (Spasskaia) tower of the Kremlin decorated in Gothic forms was cited as an example of a structure erected with no rules. However, Bazhenov acknowledged the mastery of the builders, who despite their ignorance in the canons of the ancients succeeded in making the edifice grand and beautiful.

Bazhenov acknowledged the value of the major Medieval monuments of Moscow, although he did not hesitate to ascribe them the second rate significance by comparison with the structures built in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. For instance, the Saviour's tower was regarded inferior to the church of Archangel Gabriel (Menshikov's tower) constructed in 1707-1708 by Ivan Zarudnyi and decorated with tiers of columns, serlianas, giant volutes at the entrance and a spire. The Chamber of the Facets is considered of lesser importance than the Arsenal, constructed in the Kremlin by the order of Peter the Great from 1702 until 1736 on a symmetrical trapezoidal plan and ornamented with pilasters and columns of classical orders. The bell-tower of the Novodevichii monastery, which features the use of an order, 'charms the eyes of a person possessing taste' more than the Ivan the Great. It is possible to suggest that in his consideration of the monuments of Moscow, Bazhenov gave his preference to the structures built in the forms significantly influenced by the concept of classical orders and regularity of the composition. Bazhenov probably intended to demonstrate that the monuments of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century represented the beginning of the return from the impropriety of the Medieval architecture to the 'correct' method of building inspired by

antiquity. Bazhenov intended to complete this process by creating the perfect architectural ensemble in the Kremlin.

However, Catherine stopped all works on the Kremlin reconstruction in 1775. In fact, the story of Bazhenov's project demonstrates the ambiguity of Catherine's attitude towards Moscow. The Empress, famous for her patronage of architecture, gave only limited support to the efforts to restore and embellish the Medieval Russian capital. For Catherine, Moscow symbolised Russian past, conservative and inefficient, while modern and progressive St.Petersburg represented the future of the country. For example, the description of Moscow found in Catherine's papers demonstrates her distaste for both the appearance of this city and the way of life of the Muscovites:

I do not like Moscow at all, but <I> have no any preconceptions against Petersburg <...>. Moscow <is> the capital of sloth and its excessive size will always be the main reason for that. <...> The nobility, who gathered in that place <...> always ride in a coach <driven by> six horses, but see only miserable things, capable of slackening a most outstanding genius. Besides, never have the people had before their eyes more objects of fanaticism, such as miraculous icons at every turn, churches, priests, monasteries, pilgrims, beggars, thieves, useless servants in houses - what houses, what dirt in the houses, huge in size and with the courtyards like dirty marshes. <...> villages, which have merged with that city have no control of the police, but serve as dens for thieves, crime and bandits <...>. Petersburg during forty years spread in the Empire more money and industry than Moscow <did> during five hundred years since it was built <...>³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ 'Razmyshleniia o Peterburge i Moskve' ('Thoughts on Petersburg and Moscow'). In: Ekaterina II. Sochineniia. (Catherine II. Writings). Moscow: Sovremennik. 1990, pp.482-484.

In contrast to his mother, Paul liked Moscow, since he believed that his popularity in the old capital was greater than in St.Petersburg. This impression must have been particularly strong during Paul's stay in Moscow at the period of his coronation, from 15th of March until early May 1797: for instance, the Tsar was pleased to notice that his every appearance on the streets was enthusiastically greeted by the crowds.³⁰¹ The next year, Paul noted to his barber and confidant Ivan Kutaisov that he was appreciated in Moscow but always criticised in St.Petersburg.³⁰² The backwardness of Moscow, which Catherine despised, may well have been appreciated by Paul, who sought to restore the traditional values of the Medieval society, which he laid into the foundation of his policies.

On 7th of April 1797, two days after his coronation, the Tsar granted L'vov the commission to redesign the Kremlin Palace for his 'annual stays in Moscow'.³⁰³ However, Matvei Kazakov also produced a project of the rebuilding of the Kremlin in the same year.³⁰⁴ The comparison between L'vov's proposal and that of Kazakov reveals the emergence of a new approach to the reconstruction of the ancient citadel of Moscow.

Kazakov adopted Bazhenov's concept to formalise the layout of the ensemble and to redesign it in the Neo-Classical forms, although the scale of the work

³⁰¹ Roderick E. McGrew. *op.cit.*, p.235.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p.266.

³⁰³ Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Voenno-Morskogo Flota. St.Petersburg. (Russian State Archive of the Navy), fond 212, Ukazy, otделение II, (Edicts, section 2), p.250.

³⁰⁴ A.I.Vlasiuk et al. *op.cit.*, p.287.

which he conceived was considerably smaller. Kazakov planned to include in the complex the building of the Senate, completed to his designs a decade earlier, to erect a new Palace, designed for both dwelling and representative functions, and to build in the south-east part of the Kremlin a giant riding school for military exercises favoured by Paul. In the layout suggested by Kazakov, squares of the regular geometrical forms and straight and wide streets replaced curved, blocked and narrow passages. (Plate 123)

However, in contrast to Bazhenov, Kazakov attempted to integrate the Neo-Classical buildings into their Medieval environment. Kazakov pointed out that his aim in the reconstruction of the Kremlin was 'preservation as far as possible of the old important structures.'³⁰⁵ He intended to retain in the ensemble the dominating role of the main Cathedrals and the bell-tower of Ivan the Great, which were to form the central element in the panorama of the south side of the Kremlin.

Kazakov's design for the Palace combines features of the Medieval and Neo-Classical architecture. The main part of the building facing south features a cupola, porticoes, rustication and tripartite windows. However, the plan of the entire Palace was based on the asymmetrical Medieval layout. Several ancient structures, such as the church of the Saviour in the Forest (Spas na Boru) built in the fourteenth century and the Chamber of the Facets were incorporated into the design. However, a number of buildings were to be destroyed, for example, the

³⁰⁵ The text accompanying the first album of designs for state buildings compiled in 1798. Quoted in: A.I.Vlasiuk et al. op.cit., p.287.

church of the Candlemas (Sretenskaia) was to be replaced with a new church built in Neo-Classical forms and situated behind the central hall of the Palace. Kazakov also planned to demolish a seventeenth-century hanging garden in front of the Palace in order to open the building for a view from the other side of the Moskva river.

However, Paul rejected Kazakov's project and, on 7th of October 1797, approved L'vov's design. L'vov did not plan to rebuild the entire Kremlin, but produced designs only for the Palace. (Plate 124) L'vov retained the old layout of the structure and divided its south part into three blocks of various heights that reminds one of Kazakov's concept. The proportions of the side wings of the Palace and the decoration of their central parts with pairs of columns and tripartite windows were also similar to Kazakov's design.

However, L'vov further integrated both the exterior and the interior of the Palace into the Medieval framework. In contrast to Kazakov, he planned to preserve the Candlemas church, which was to occupy the central space in the building. Such an important place for the ancient church demonstrated the great role religion had for Paul: the Tsar was anxious to present himself as both the secular and the spiritual leader of Russia and on several occasions acted as a priest offering the mass and hearing confession.³⁰⁶ Kazakov's idea of a grand hall situated behind the portico of the main building and intended for state ceremonies was abandoned - a decision may have been made to continue using for such occasions

³⁰⁶ Roderick E. McGrew. *op.cit.*, p.234.

the Chamber of the Facets, which was associated with many historical events, for instance, the installations of the patriarchs, the celebration of the conquest of Kazan by Ivan IV in 1552 and that of the victory over the Swedes at Poltava by Peter the Great in 1709 took place in the main room of the Chamber of the Facets. The plan of the Palace conceived by L'vov included apartments of small dimensions similar in size to the rooms in the older parts of the Palace and designed for dwelling and possibly administrative functions, but not for state receptions. As with other domestic buildings designed by L'vov, the symmetry of the facade of the Palace was only partially reflected in plan, in which irregularity substituted geometric perfection.

The residences of the members of the royal family in the Kremlin traditionally included hanging gardens decorated with fountains, ponds, arbours and conservatories with rare plants.³⁰⁷ L'vov followed that custom and connected the Palace with the old hanging garden, in which he laid out winding paths and introduced irregular planting characteristic for the English style of gardening. Further, L'vov designed the basement of the Palace in the forms of a garden pavilion in order to link the architecture with its natural setting: double ramps lead to a grotto and a pyramidal cascade on the ground level. The architect used the same motif in the design for an 'underground structure' situated in a park near the house of Bezborodko in Moscow. The garden elevated on a substructure obscured the view of the basement storey of the Kremlin Palace, thereby emphasising the seclusion of that private area. Thus, L'vov's concept of the

³⁰⁷ N.Ia.Tikhomirov, V.N.Ivanov. *op.cit.*, pp.171-176.

Palace was the opposite to that suggested by Bazhenov: instead of creating an enormous edifice, which would dominate the surroundings, the Palace designed by L'vov was similar to a country house.

The idea to combine the Kremlin Palace with the garden reflected the character of Moscow cityscape, which represented a unique combination of urban area and countryside. At the beginning of his essay on the antiquities of Moscow, L'vov praised the scenery of the Southern part of the city which the Kremlin Palace faced: 'the hilly area, on which disorderly dispersed various magnificent masonry ancient and modern buildings mixed with huts and scattered with the greenery of the gardens, comprise numerous beautiful views <...>'.³⁰⁸ From the rotunda located on top of the Palace, one could look at the panorama of the city expanding below the Kremlin hill. Indeed, the sights observed from the Kremlin fascinated artists, such as Gérard de la Barthe, who included views from the balcony of the Kremlin Palace into a series of drawings of Moscow engraved at the beginning of the 1800s.³⁰⁹ Observing the picturesque scenes of the city from some elevated point must have been one of the favourite pastimes of Muscovites and visitors to the ancient capital. For example, the rich landlord and businessman P.E.Pashkov and the military governor of Moscow Timofei Tutolmin could enjoy the views of Moscow from the rotundas situated on top of their houses. Both buildings constructed at the end of the eighteenth century dominated the panorama of the city: the house of Pashkov presumably designed by Bazhenov was situated on the Vagan'kovskii hill overlooking the Kremlin and

³⁰⁸ 'Opyt o russkikh drevnostiakh v Moskve'. op.cit., p.407.

that of Tutolmin was built by Matvei Kazakov on the Shvivaia hill in the district of Zaiauzie to the east of the Kremlin.³¹⁰ L'vov's idea to design a rotunda on top of the Kremlin Palace may well have been inspired by these structures.

Further, L'vov's design has much in common with Palladian country houses, such as those illustrated by Colen Campbell in the three volumes of the Vitruvius Britannicus published between 1715 and 1725. For instance, the simplicity of the elongated facade, the colonnaded cupola, the hexastyle portico, the ground floor decorated with rustication and double ramps in the facade of Wanstead II and the windows of the Serliana type in the side blocks of Wanstead III find their close analogies in L'vov's designs for the Kremlin. (Plate 125) L'vov could have seen the volumes of the Vitruvius Britannicus, copies of which circulated in Russia.³¹¹ The motifs used in L'vov's designs for the Palace are found in different combinations in the works of British architects, who continued to develop the composition of the Wanstead in the later decades of the eighteenth century.³¹² For instance, a sketch elevation for a riverside Palace produced by Robert Adam

³⁰⁹ Reproduced in: Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvy XV - nachala XX vekov. op.cit., p.257.

³¹⁰ See the reconstruction of the view of Moscow from the Alekseevskii monastery in the direction of Shvivaia hill in 1800-1812. Reproduced in: Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvy XV - nachala XX vekov. op.cit., pp.230-231. Pashkov's house was altered after the great Moscow fire of 1812 and has survived, the house of Tutolmin is illustrated in Kazakov's 'Album of civil buildings' compiled at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

³¹¹ For example, the volume published in 1715-1717 was kept in the library of the director of the Academy of Sciences Count Vladimir Orlov. The inscription in the book indicates that on 13th of May 1798, Orlov presented this volume to a certain Nikolai Matveev. The book is now kept in the library of the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg.

³¹² See: Howard E. Stutchbury, The Architecture of Colen Campbell. Manchester University Press. 1967, p.125.

probably in 1756 features a cupola, a hexastyle portico, tripartite windows and a rusticated basement decorated with an arch to which ramps are descending.³¹³ The concept of the Palladian country house also significantly influenced the domestic architecture of Moscow at the end of the eighteenth century, particularly the works of Matvei Kazakov, whose numerous designs for the mansions of the nobility, such as those of Tutolmin, Gubin on the Petrovka street and Baryshnikov on the Miasnitskaia street, feature porticoes on the sparsely decorated facades, the rusticated ground floors, symmetry of the composition and other motifs characteristic for the Palladian tradition.³¹⁴ The Kremlin Palace designed by L'vov was to become one of the architectural landmarks in the Neo-Classical Moscow, its Palladian style was a step towards the Westernisation of the image of the city. The example of L'vov's design for the Kremlin Palace demonstrates the significance of the influence of Palladianism on the architecture of Moscow in the late eighteenth century, which has not yet been properly studied by scholars.

L'vov also investigated a different approach to the problem of the integration of the new structures into the Medieval ensemble of the Kremlin: he designed parts of the Palace in Neo-Gothic forms. One of the variants of the design for the main section of the Palace represents a combination of the central Palladian facade and

³¹³ The sketch is reproduced in: Alan Andrew Tait. Robert Adam. Drawings and Imagination. Cambridge University Press. 1993, p.49.

³¹⁴ For the illustrations of Kazakov's designs see: Arkhitekturnye al'bomy M.F.Kazakova (Architectural albums of M.F.Kazakov). Al'bomy partikuliarnykh stroenii. Zhilye zdaniia Moskvyy 18 veka (Album of Civil Buildings. Domestic Buildings in Moscow of the Eighteenth Century).

the west block decorated with motifs derived from Gothic architecture, such as pointed arches supported by slender columns, lancet windows and quatrefoils. The shape of the roof with a gable ornamented with three pinnacles and a structure added to the side of that section were designed with no respect for symmetry of the entire facade. (Plate 126) However, such an incongruous combination of the forms of Palladian and Medieval architecture in one building was not approved by Paul, who endorsed the Neo-Classical version of the Palace.³¹⁵

However, the Tsar probably accepted L'vov's Neo-Gothic design for the part of the Palace allocated for the use of the Grand Dukes and situated inside the complex of the Kremlin on the Sytnyi courtyard. (Plate 127) On 27th of May 1797, L'vov was requested to bring all designs for the Kremlin Palace to St.Petersburg and to introduce several changes in the 'Gothic block'.³¹⁶ The construction of the building was entrusted to Matvei Kazakov and his namesake Rodion Kazakov.

It is remarkable that L'vov, who may have been writing his proclamation to spread Palladian style in Russia simultaneously with working on that commission, broke every Palladian rule in the design for the Palace for the Grand Dukes. The facade is emphatically asymmetrical: there is no central axis, the

Preparation of the edition, article and commentary by E.A.Beletskaja. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo po stroitel'stvu i arkhitekture. 1956.

³¹⁵ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.152.

³¹⁶ Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvyy XV - nachala XX vekov. op.cit., p.458, note 157.

height of the roof varies on each part of the building and the masses are not balanced. The principles of the classical orders are neglected: the columns most of which are slim have no entablature, the two porches in the first storey of the longest part of the facade are situated next to each other but decorated with columns of different height. Instead of a grand Palladian portico L'vov used balconies, galleries, small pediments ornamented with Baroque scrolls on the left side of the building and a high pitched roof in the middle. The sparse decoration of Palladian structures with motifs derived from ancient Greek or Roman architecture has nothing in common with the multiplicity of lancet windows, arcades, quatrefoils, pointed arches and other ornaments, arranged on the facade in a variety of combinations. A few classical forms, which are found in the design are either disguised to appear 'Medieval', for instance, the window of the Serliana type located near the middle of the first storey is inserted into a pointed arch and decorated with a motif similar to a trefoil, or relegated to a less conspicuous place, such as the tripartite window of the church hardly visible from the courtyard.

The Medieval buildings of the Kremlin, especially the rich ornamentation of its seventeenth-century monuments, were major sources for the design for the Palace of the Grand Dukes. For example, the asymmetrical elongated facade of the Palace connected to a church is similar to the Palace of the patriarchs built from 1643 until 1658 and linked with the church of the Twelve Apostles. The arcade of small columns, which ornaments the upper storey of the longest part of the facade in L'vov's design, reminds one of a motif used in the buildings of the Kremlin, for instance, in the decoration of the three main Cathedrals and in the

facade of the Palace of the patriarchs. The high pitched roof decorated with a pattern of checkers, the design of the windows topped by two arches with the motif called gir'ka (a small weight) between them, the balconies and galleries have much in common with those used in the composition of the Terem Palace. Two richly decorated windows flanked with columns situated on the first storey of the longest part of the facade may have been inspired by the Petitioners' Window of the Golden room located on the second tier of the facade of the Terem Palace. The Petitioners' Window, accentuated with a Baroque pediment and two ornate columns, served as a unique medium of the direct communication between the monarchs and the people. As L'vov correctly noted in his essay, the Tsars were sitting near the window 'during certain hours designated to receive petitions from people'.³¹⁷ L'vov may have been instructed to imitate the forms of the Petitioners' Window by Paul, who revived the tradition of the direct contact between the sovereign and his subjects and may have wanted to remind his sons of that custom. Thus, during the first years of his reign, anyone could drop a message into a box displayed outside the Winter Palace in St.Petersburg, which Paul examined himself.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Gothic architecture was perceived as traditionally Russian. L'vov seems to have subscribed to that idea. For instance, L'vov in one of his illustrations to Catherine's play The Initial Governing of Oleg depicted an interior decorated in Gothic forms as the backdrop to the scene from Russian history which took place in the Palace of the Princes of Kiev early in the

³¹⁷ 'Opyt o russkikh drevnostiakh v Moskve'. op.cit., p.416.

tenth century. (Plate 128) The illustration represents the marriage of Prince Igor and Prekrasa, who is given a new name Olga. The design of the backdrop combines distinctly Gothic pointed arches and slender columns in the ornamentation of the walls with Neo-Classical features, for instance, the symmetry and spaciousness of the composition.³¹⁸ However, it will be indicated in the analysis of L'vov's essay on the antiquities of Moscow, that in 1797, he appears to have started to distinguish between the styles of Gothic and traditional Russian architecture. Nevertheless, he did not formulate the characteristics of the Medieval Russian style. The eclecticism of his design for the Palace of the Grand Dukes reflects the uncertainty of his attitude towards the nature of Russian Medieval architecture.

A combination of the Gothic, Neo-Classical and traditional Russian styles similar to that in L'vov's design had been used by both Bazhenov and Kazakov in their designs for the Imperial suburban Palaces near Moscow. Bazhenov's unfinished project of a complex of buildings in the royal estate of Tsaritsyno, started in 1776 and halted by the Empress in 1785, includes several structures decorated with fantastic assortment of traditionally Russian features, such as ornaments of white stone on the red masonry walls, and Gothic motifs, for instance, the arcades of pointed arches, lancet windows, tracery and pinnacles. The Petrovskii castle built by Kazakov from 1775 until 1782 at the beginning of the road to St.Petersburg must have been examined by L'vov, since Paul and his court stayed there before

³¹⁸ The illustration is similar to an etching now kept in the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (N 6355). The composition engraved by L'vov was sketched by the literary scholar and artist Alexei Nikolaevich Olenin between 1790 and 1796. See: I.Kh.Rechitskii. *op.cit.*, p.241.

the ceremonial entry to Moscow for the coronation. (Plate 129) As with Bazhenov's buildings in Tsaritsyno, the ornaments on the facade of the castle are derived from both traditional Russian and Gothic forms. However, neither architect considerably deviated from the Neo-Classical concept of symmetry in plans and in the arrangement of the decoration on the facades.³¹⁹ In contrast, L'vov in the Neo-Gothic designs for the facades of the Kremlin Palace followed more closely than his predecessors the principle of irregularity, which he observed in the monuments of the Medieval domestic architecture of Moscow.

Despite Paul's approval of L'vov's design, only the eastern block of the Palace, constructed between 1749 and 1753 by Rastrelli for the Empress Elizabeth is known to have been rebuilt.³²⁰ L'vov added to Rastrelli's building an attic storey with several apartments for the Tsar and redecorated the facade in the Neo-Classical forms.³²¹ Paul may have found the entire project too expensive to execute, since significant resources were at that time directed to the construction of the Mikhailovskii castle in St.Petersburg, which on its completion cost a very substantial sum of 6.1 million rubles.³²² The postponement of the rebuilding of the Kremlin left the Medieval monuments in their original condition and probably indicated the emergence of the new concept of preservation of the

³¹⁹ For a detailed analysis of Bazhenov's and Kazakov's Neo-Gothic works see: Dimitri Shvidkovsky. *The Empress & the Architect*. op.cit., pp.196-210.

³²⁰ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.26.

³²¹ See L'vov's letter to admiral Grigorii Kusselev of 31st of December 1798, in which the architect also asks about Paul's opinion of the proposed decorative scheme of the apartments in the Kremlin. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, p.102 reverse.

³²² William Craft Brumfield. op.cit., p.289.

ancient structures, which was formulated by L'vov in his 'Essay on the Russian antiquities in Moscow'.

CHAPTER III, PART II

'THE MAGNIFICENT REMAINS OF ANCIENT MOSCOW'

L'vov's 'Essay on the Russian antiquities in Moscow'³²³ was a significant step in the development of the new antiquarian approach to the Medieval architectural heritage and marked the beginning of the scholarly investigation of Russian architecture. Although the essay has been used by scholars as a source of quotes illustrating L'vov's innovative concept of the preservation of ancient monuments,³²⁴ no analysis of his work has been produced. The only publication devoted specifically to the essay is a short article by Militsa Korshunova, who indicated that the essay was written to be presented to Paul I and established the link between L'vov's text and Quarenghi's views of Moscow.³²⁵ However, Korshunova did not go beyond a brief description of these works and her study failed to give any critical interpretation of L'vov's essay.

³²³ The full title is: 'Opyt o russkikh drevnostiakh v Moskve 1797 goda apreliia v 1 den' N.L. Velikolepnye ostatki drevnei Moskvyy I okrestnostei eia v leto ot rozhdestva Khristova tysiashcha sedm'sot deviat' desiat' sedmago apreliia v 1 den' (An Essay on the Russian antiquities in Moscow of the year 1797 on the 1st of April N.L. The magnificent remains of ancient Moscow and its environs in the year from the birth of Christ one thousand seven hundred ninety seven on the 1st of April').

³²⁴ See, for instance: A.G.Boris. 'Romantic theme in Moscow architecture at the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries'. *Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvyy XV - nachala XX vekov*. op.cit., p.241; see also *ibid.*, pp.255-256.

³²⁵ M.F.Korshunova. 'Dz.Kvarengi I N.A.L'vov. Sovmestnaia rabota v sviazi s koronatsiei Pavla I' ('Giacomo Quarenghi and Nikolai L'vov. A collaborative work in relation to the coronation of

The album, which contains L'vov's essay, is kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow.³²⁶ The large detailed illustrations with views of Moscow and its environs produced by Quarenghi were removed from the album at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These drawings are now divided between the State Hermitage in St.Petersburg and the Shchiusev museum of architecture in Moscow.³²⁷

One of Quarenghi's drawings (Plate 131) illustrates a banner with the depiction of the Imperial two-headed eagle and the date of Paul's coronation, the 5th of April 1797. The inscription on the cover of the album indicates that the work was completed by L'vov on the 1st of April of the same year. It is, therefore, possible to agree with the supposition of Korshunova that the album was produced for the presentation to the Tsar at his coronation. It is not known whether or not the album was officially presented to the Tsar. L'vov was absent from Moscow during the coronation: he was ill and stayed in Nikolskoe. The essay seems not to have been completed, for instance, several passages contain variants of the same sentence or remain unedited.

Paul I'). Zarubezhnye khudozhniki I Rossiia (Foreign Artists and Russia). Collection of essays, part I. St.Petersburg: Repin Art Institute. 1991, pp.56-61.

³²⁶ The State Historical Museum, Department of literary sources, fond 402, N109.

³²⁷ The album included ten illustrations annotated by L'vov. The largest number of Quarenghi's drawings, produced with the use of water-colours and gouache, is called the 'Moscow series of Quarenghi' and is kept in the department of graphics, the Hermitage, NN11713-11719. The size of six drawings is 43cm to 57cm, two drawings measure 42cm to 114cm. Korshunova indicated that Quarenghi's illustrations were purchased by the Hermitage as late as 1837 from a relative of the engraver Joseph Sanders, who collaborated with both Quarenghi and L'vov. Quarenghi's drawings were reproduced and briefly described by G.G.Grimm in Graficheskoe nasledie

L'vov's study of the monuments of the ancient capital was intended to supply the Tsar with a concise illustrated history of Russian Medieval architecture. Paul seems to have been interested in the architecture of Moscow. Indeed, the projects patronised by Paul included the work by Kazakov on the comprehensive 'General Atlas of the Facade Layouts of Moscow'³²⁸ and the production of a series of views of the city by the landscape painter Fiodor Alekseev and his students from the Academy of Arts.

Both L'vov and Quarenghi may have noticed Paul's preference for the old Russian capital. However, the Tsar probably needed to obtain more information about Moscow. Paul spent most of his lifetime in St.Petersburg, Pavlovsk or Gatchina and visited Moscow only occasionally. His education centred on the history of Western Europe, while the events of the Russian past before Peter the Great were largely ignored.³²⁹ L'vov's essay goes beyond description of the monuments. L'vov linked his survey with historical data, stressing political events commemorated in the buildings which he described.

He also catered to the Tsar's religiosity by giving particular attention to ecclesiastical structures. L'vov probably knew about the convention between Paul and the Order of St.John of Jerusalem, negotiated and concluded by

Kvarengi. (Graphic Heritage of Quarenghi). Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha. 1962, pp.103-111. However, Grimm was unaware of the existence of L'vov's essay.

³²⁸ 'General'nyi Moskvyy atlas iz fasadicheskikh planov'. See: Felix Razumovskii. *op.cit.*, p.63.

³²⁹ Roderick E. McGrew. *op.cit.*, p.49.

Bezborodko on the 4th of January 1797, by which the Tsar adopted that religious institution under his protection.³³⁰ Paul's fascination with the Maltese order may have been the reason for L'vov to highlight the fact that Fioravanti achieved recognition as an outstanding engineer by moving a bell tower in Bologna which was built near the church of Santa Maria Maggiore belonging to the Order of the Maltese knights. From the text of the treaty, L'vov could have understood that the words 'illustrious' and 'ancient' had particular appeal for the Tsar. The combinations of words conveying similar meanings, such as the pair 'magnificent remains' used in the subtitle, are often used in the text of the essay. For example, L'vov wrote that 'the Cathedral of the Assumption, in which Russian monarchs are crowned, is also famous for its antiquity'.

The impetus to L'vov's thorough investigation of the antiquities of Moscow may have been given by the commission, mentioned by L'vov in his essay, to restore the Potesnyi (Amusement) Palace in the Kremlin and prepare it for Paul's coronation.³³¹ This Palace, which still exists in altered form, was originally used as a theatre. It represented an outstanding example of the seventeenth-century architecture: it was an asymmetrical profusely decorated building with hanging gardens, promenades, turrets and cupolas on the roof. Although no further information on L'vov's work at the Amusement Palace has yet been discovered,

³³⁰ For the full text of the convention, see: Louis de Boisgelin, Knight of Malta. Ancient and Modern Malta. G&J Robinson, London, 1804, vol.3, book 3, appendix N XVII; or WWW: <http://members.aol.com/osjknights/rgp.htm>

³³¹ 'Opyt o russkikh drevnostiakh v Moskve'. op.cit., p.414.

that commission certainly presented the architect with an opportunity to study the old Kremlin.

The scope of the sources used by L'vov in the preparation of his essay reflected both his scholarly attitude to the subject and the lack of any substantial research previously conducted in that field. L'vov emphasised the pioneering character of his work in the following extract:

Brief historic data, which I was able to collect in different places (except <the material> taken from books), I borrowed from an insignificant number of stones <which> escaped destruction, from chronicles collected by me, from few ancient designs, delivered to me by connoisseurs of the arts, from inscriptions made on <books> of the New Testament, crosses and church bowls, or from stories told by the elders <...>

During the 1790s, L'vov displayed keen interest in Russian history. His findings in the archives of the Spaso-Evfimievskii monastery in Suzdal', the city located one hundred and forty miles north-east of Moscow, resulted in publication of two chronicles which document the events from the foundation of the Russian state until the early eighteenth century.³³² Although L'vov did not believe that a number of facts described in these sources took place in reality, he minimised corrections in the text and, in the second chronicle, he even retained 'ignorant superstitions'. In his view, 'naked wolfs eating Moscow and a lake of blood in

³³² Letopisets ruskoi ot prishestviia Rurika do konchiny tsaria Ioanna Vasilievicha. (Russian Chronicler From the Arrival of Riurik Until the Death of the Tsar Ioann Vasilievich). Published by N(ikolai) L('vov). Parts I-V. St.Petersburg: tipografiia Gornogo uchilishcha, 1792; Podrobnaiia letopis ot nachala Rossii do Poltavskoi batalii (A Detailed Chronicle From the Beginning of Russia Until the Battle of Poltava). Published by N.A.L'vov. Parts I-IV. St.Petersburg: pechatano u Shnora, 1798-1799.

Toropets indicate the degree of enlightenment of the people and augment the picture of the century'.³³³ Such treatment of the Medieval literary sources was parallel to L'vov's preservationist approach to the ancient buildings of Moscow. The design of the album was also influenced by the decorative style of the Medieval chronicles: the text of L'vov's study is hand written in an ornamental script with the initials painted red.

L'vov researched in Moscow archives, such as the library of the Patriarch, and in his essay frequently quoted Medieval sources, particularly the Stepennaia kniga (Book of Degrees of the Imperial Genealogy), which describes the history of the Russian state in its relation to the Church.³³⁴ L'vov also acknowledged that he used a plan for the Kremlin produced by the architect Prince Dmitrii Ukhtomskii during the 1750s. Ukhtomskii, the main architect of Moscow in the middle of the eighteenth century, designed several Baroque structures in and around the Kremlin,³³⁵ one of which, the Voskresenskie Gates was illustrated in L'vov's essay.

The 1780s and 1790s saw rise of interest in the old Russian capital and emergence of the antiquarian study of the monuments of Moscow. The first guidebook about Moscow, which listed city gates, bridges, streets, Palaces, etc.,

³³³ Quoted in: A.N.Glumov. op.cit., p.155.

³³⁴ For more information on the Stepennaia kniga, see: Arthur Voyce. op.cit., p.131, note 21.

³³⁵ Arkhitekturnye ansambli Moskvy XV - nachala XX vekov. op.cit., p.198.

was published by V.G.Ruban in St.Petersburg in 1782.³³⁶ Although L'vov did not mention this topographic and statistical description of Moscow as one of his sources, it is possible to suggest that he used Ruban's work. For example, L'vov's list of the churches situated 'across the river Moskva' seems to have been derived from that compiled by Ruban.³³⁷ However, L'vov acknowledged the influence of the Putevoditel' k drevnostiam i dostopamiatnostiam moskovskim. (A Guidebook to the Antiquities and Memorabilia of Moscow), published in Moscow in three parts in 1792-1793. This book contains a pioneering historic description of Moscow. The sections of the book follow the traditional division of the city into four parts, the Kremlin, Kitai-gorod, Belyi gorod (White town) and Zemlianoi gorod (Earth town), which was adopted by L'vov in the first part of his essay. L'vov also quoted the most recent Istoricheskoe i topograficheskoe opisaniye pervoprestol'nogo grada Moskvyy... (A historical and topographical description of the first capital city of Moscow), published in Moscow in 1796. This study was based on legends and Medieval sources and accompanied by plans of all twenty districts of the city.

L'vov's work marks the initial stage in the research into the architectural heritage of Moscow and contains mistakes which were due to the deficiencies of the sources available to the author. For example, L'vov followed the widely spread erroneous opinion that Moscow was founded by Prince Oleg in 882.³³⁸ This view

³³⁶ V.G.Ruban. Opisaniye imperatorskogo stolichnogo goroda Moskvyy. (A Description of the Imperial Capital City of Moscow). St.Petersburg, 1782.

³³⁷ Ibid., pp.112-113.

³³⁸ The accepted plausible date for the foundation of Moscow is the twelfth century; the earliest year Moscow was referred to in the chronicles being 1147. This date is also mentioned by L'vov.

was expressed in a number of Russian chronicles and taken up by eighteenth-century writers, for instance, Catherine the Great in her play The Initial Governing of Oleg.

However, L'vov himself devoted a considerable effort to studying Medieval buildings. His own observations and opinions of the Medieval architecture are the most important components of the essay. L'vov acknowledged the assistance of Moscow architects Rodion Kazakov and Fiodor Kazakov, who helped him in making measurements and drawing plans of the old structures.

The method adopted by L'vov for his research was probably modelled on that used by other architects in the studies of ancient Rome. For instance, Cameron based his treatise devoted to the baths of the Romans on his own archaeological explorations: he copied old inscriptions and went underground for expeditions in order to measure the ancient structures and record their decorative motifs.

However, Cameron also used literary sources, such as works of ancient writers, and more recent studies by Palladio and other authors. The ultimate purpose of his work was the reconstruction of the designs of the antique baths.³³⁹

Significantly enough, in L'vov's album, the plan and the view of the Kremlin and the view of the estate of Kolomenskoe included depictions of buildings which no longer existed and were reconstructed according to archaeological data and old designs. The influence of archaeological approach on L'vov is exemplified by his analysis of the purpose of underground passages leading outside the Kremlin,

³³⁹ Charles Cameron. The Baths of the Romans. op.cit.

which were believed to had been dug as escape routes or in order to lead army reserves into the citadel in case of an attack on the Kremlin. L'vov did not find any entrances or exits suitable for these purposes. He therefore dismissed the traditional point of view and suggested that the passages were made for drainage.

Cameron expressed typical sentiments of regret about the demolition of the antique monuments by subsequent generations. He particularly attacked the architects of the Baroque, who not just contributed to the destruction of the antique Rome but also developed a wrong taste in architecture which was far inferior to that of the ancients.³⁴⁰

L'vov transposed such views of the Neo-Classacists to his own romantic concept. He accused those who razed Medieval buildings and failed to appreciate the value of the heritage of the past. L'vov's philippic against vandalism is one of the most eloquent passages in the text:

I could not find in the chronicles any <information on> gradual expansion of the Kremlin and the destruction of the original buildings. Those who demolished old structures did not preserve the inscriptions of the ancient builders, who had a laudable custom to incise almost everywhere on stones the name of the monarch, whose munificence embellished the city, and sometimes the name of the builder, <they> did not have enough respect to the creations of their elders, did not return to the history of art what <they> stole from art; so that a connoisseur of antiquity walking amongst the sad ruins would not find even traces, which would have informed him where the temples created in the name of God stood, where apartments of the faithful Tsars <were>, where defenders of the homeland

³⁴⁰ Ibid., the preface.

lived. The grass growing on the ruins seems to cover the shame of
<those> who did not preserve the remains of venerable antiquity.

L'vov declared his admiration towards the achievements of Medieval architects and displayed a critical attitude to the accomplishments of his own epoch. He suggested that the builders of the past possessed secrets of building durable structures, which were able to withstand severe Russian winters, and added that '<contemporary> artists are unaware of the mystery, by which the ancient good faith, precision and patience far surpassed contemporary learnedness'. The romantic sentiment of this passage indicates that L'vov connected the Medieval architecture with religious and moral values. It also implies that he may no longer have perceived Neo-Classicism as the only 'true style'.

L'vov's criticism was implicitly directed against Bazhenov. L'vov almost certainly read Bazhenov's 'Declaration on the Foundation of the Kremlin Palace', published in 1787 in a collection of writings by Sumarokov,³⁴¹ whose poetry L'vov quoted in his essay. Although Bazhenov's name is not mentioned in the essay, there are several references to his project of the Kremlin reconstruction. For example, L'vov pointed out that the church of the Miracle-Workers of Chernigov was demolished around 1771 and 1772 in order to make space for the foundation of the grand Palace, the model of which L'vov saw in the Armoury chamber (Oruzheinaia palata) in the Kremlin. He also mentioned the building of the government offices (prikazy), the hanging gardens and towers destroyed by Bazhenov. It was also Bazhenov who recommended to dismantle

³⁴¹ Sochineniia A.P.Sumarokova. (Writings of A.P.Sumarokov). Moscow. 1787, vol.III, pp.267-275.

the seventeenth-century wooden Palace in Kolomenskoe in the outskirts of Moscow in 1768. A special subsection of L'vov's essay is devoted to this Palace which was depicted in one of Quarenghi's illustrations.

L'vov's essay combines a comprehensive description of Moscow with an in-depth analysis of several important structures. For the purposes of this thesis it is not necessary either to undertake an exhaustive commentary on numerous facts cited by L'vov or to describe dozens of structures depicted in Quarenghi's illustrations. What follows is an attempt to highlight L'vov's innovative ideas about the architecture of Moscow.

The first part of the study is a historic and topographic account of the city. L'vov began his essay with a brief overview of the history of Moscow and stressed its ancient origins. He went on to explain why Moscow rose to become the Russian capital:

The advantageous position of this city in the middle of the country <...> increased inner trade, mild climate and the fertile surrounding area favoured agriculture, wealth produced crafts, from them <originated> the arts, these gave pleasure to life and attracted inhabitants, and justice regulated the property of everyone and established <the rights of the> citizens in the new capital, so that Moscow not just overtook Novgorod in population and might, but soon subdued it.

L'vov's opinion indicates the break with the eighteenth-century tradition to diminish the importance of the ancient capital and to dismiss it as a relic of barbarian past, exemplified by the previously quoted comparison between Moscow and St.Petersburg written by Catherine. Moreover, L'vov praised the

beauty of Moscow, particularly its views from the Sparrow hills (Vorobiovy gory), 'from where all city downstream the river Moskva, winding between the valley and the hills, looks like a flower bed'.

In this part of the essay, L'vov listed several hundred structures, such as those in the Kremlin, monasteries, Cathedrals, churches, public buildings, bridges, gates at the entrances to the city as well as streets and ponds.

The following section of L'vov's essay consists of extensive annotations to the illustrations, which accompanied the text. L'vov prepared a detailed survey of the history of the construction and restoration of the buildings, gave dimensions of the main structures, pointed out major historic events and old customs related to the monuments and named the monarchs and architects who contributed to the embellishment of Moscow. This section represents a collaborative work of L'vov, who must have taken part in composing the illustrations, and Quarenghi, who succeeded in conveying the impression of the exotic beauty of the architecture of Moscow in his drawings.

The first illustration annotated by L'vov represented 'A plan of the Kremlin with the indication of the ancient structures, which no longer exist, composed partly according to the remains of the old foundations, and partly borrowed from an ancient plan of the architect Prince Ukhtomskii'.³⁴² The plan illustrated

³⁴² The whereabouts of this illustration as well as that of the 'Plan, facade and section of the royal apartments in the Kremlin, the Boyars' square, the <church> of the Saviour behind the Golden grill and the Chamber of the Facets' are unknown.

numerous buildings: the Cathedrals, monasteries, churches, public buildings, gates, private houses and other features.

The panoramic 'View of the Kremlin with the depiction of some ancient structures reconstructed according to old designs and remaining foundations' (Plate 130) includes depictions of several edifices destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century, such as the Palace of the Empress Elizabeth, while the building of the government offices, razed by Bazhenov is shown as a ruin. L'vov paid particular attention to the description of the hanging gardens, which he characterised as 'a magnificent and ingenious' structure. He mentioned a special device made in the Vodovzvodnaia tower to raise water for the gardens.³⁴³ L'vov may have used this idea in his own design for the hanging gardens in the project of the reconstruction of the Kremlin Palace. L'vov also pointed out the significance of the church of Nikolai Gastunskii for Russian history: according to a legend, the church was built on the spot where the patriarch Filaret, on his return home after having been held in captivity, met his son the Tsar Mikhail (1613-1645), the first monarch of the dynasty of the Romanovs.

'The View of the Tsars' apartments in the Kremlin on the Boyars' square, the Golden grill, the <churches> of the Saviour on the Forest and the Saviour on the Entrance-hall behind the Golden grill' (Plate 131) is one of the pictures of the interior of the Kremlin. The illustration is both informative and picturesque. The

³⁴³ That device was constructed by Christopher Galloway in 1633. See: N.Ia.Tikhomirov, V.N.Ivanov. *op.cit.*, p.45. However, L'vov had no information on the history of the construction of the complex of the hanging gardens.

comparison of this illustration with an engraving made to a drawing of the topographic artist M.I. Makhaev in the middle of the eighteenth century, which was taken from a similar standpoint and possibly produced with the use of a camera obscura, (Plate 132) demonstrates that L'vov and Quarenghi intended not just to record the monuments, but also to create an impressive image of the Russian traditional architecture. In contrast to the close up view produced by Makhaev, Quarenghi's drawing unifies in one picture several major monuments and depicts them in their environment with the tops of the buildings on the Cathedral square seen in the background. Quarenghi's illustration combines scrupulous representation of details, for instance, the Petitioners' (Golden) Window on the facade of the Terem Palace is carefully recorded, with imaginary motifs, such as the corner of a ruined structure on the left side, to which the banner is attached, and a part of an 'antique' entablature on the right, on which an artist, possibly Quarenghi himself, is sitting.

Such ruins are characteristic for the illustrations of L'vov's essay: they indicate the dilapidated condition of the ancient monuments and at the same time enhance the romantic feeling, akin to that produced by the remains of ancient Rome. The gigantic blocks of stone disorderly scattered in the squares of the Kremlin may well have existed in reality: they had been prepared for the construction of Bazhenov's Kremlin Palace but never used. The abandoned stones, which purposefully appear in the foreground of Quarenghi's views of the Kremlin, may have illustrated the idea of 'sic transit gloria mundi', which would have been important to Paul, who was sharply critical of Catherine's undertakings and tried to dismantle many schemes initiated by the Empress.

In the annotation to this view of the Terem Palace and the Boyars' square, L'vov probably catered to Paul's interest in rituals and possibly to his ideas to re-establish the Medieval system of the relationships between the sovereign and his people. L'vov described the old ceremony of how the Tsars were accessed by their subjects. L'vov pointed out that boyars and officials were waiting on the Boyars' square near the Chamber of the Facets until a secretary (d'iak) would invite one of them to enter. Then the one who was chosen took his hat off and entered the Palace through the porch behind the Golden grill, which was shut afterwards. The space behind the grill was used by those who exited from the Palace, having had the audience with the Tsar, and by those, who had direct access to the monarch by virtue of their rank or merit.

In the annotation to 'the view of the Ivanovskaia square, the two famous Cathedrals, the Chamber of the Facets and the Red Stairway', L'vov outlined the contribution of the Russian rulers, from the fourteenth-century Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan Kalita to Catherine the Great, to the embellishment of the Kremlin. (Plate 133) He noted the dates of construction, rebuilding and restoration of the structures as well as their dimensions. L'vov indicated particular importance that Italian architects had for building the Kremlin. He praised the Grand Duke Ivan III, who 'loved the arts and <in order> to adorn his capital and to establish a school of his own artists <...> sent his emissaries to Italy and other places to find artful masters'. L'vov pointed out that Fioravanti, who was hired by the agents of Ivan III in Venice, not just rebuilt the Cathedral of the Assumption from 1475 until 1479 in the 'solid and reliable manner', but also brought to Russia new

techniques of making building materials.³⁴⁴ The Cathedral of the Assumption is depicted in the middle of Quarenghi's illustration, next to the Chamber of the Facets, which, as L'vov rightly suggested, was built by Italian architects.³⁴⁵ In fact, all structures included by Quarenghi in this picture, including the Cathedral of Archangel Michael and the bell-tower of Ivan the Great were constructed with active participation of Italian architects. Incidentally, the Cathedral of the Annunciation, the only major building on the Cathedral square entirely built by Russian masters, is not indicated in the picture, having been overshadowed by the Cathedral of St. Michael. This praise of the contribution of the Italian architects to building of the Kremlin and the ancient roots of the tradition of their service to Russian Tsars was possibly intended to promote Quarenghi at the court of Paul.

Quarenghi attempted to depict the existing monuments with a considerable degree of precision, however, in several illustrations, the accuracy was sacrificed in order to enhance picturesque effect or to make the view more informative. For instance, the Cathedral of the Intercession on the Moat and the Saviour's gates of the Kremlin were combined in one illustration in such a way that the distance between the buildings seems shorter than it is in reality. (Plate 134) L'vov and Quarenghi thus emphasised the contrast between the extravagant style of the Cathedral and the Gothic Saviour's tower. The subsection devoted to the examination of these two structures is one of the most interesting in the essay,

³⁴⁴ Indeed, Fioravanti introduced in Moscow new techniques of making mortar and brick. See: N.Ia.Tikhomirov, V.N.Ivanov. *op.cit.*, p.56.

³⁴⁵ However, that late fifteenth-century structure was wrongly dated by L'vov from the time Boris Godunov (1598-1605).

since it goes beyond cataloguing the monuments and contains an attempt to produce a comparative critical analysis of architectural forms. L'vov's consideration of both buildings reveals the criteria by which he judged Medieval architecture. L'vov pointed out the sophistication of the construction methods of the Cathedral:

Although the Cathedral of the Intercession attracts attention even more by the quaintness of architecture than by magnificence, a curious artist, having observed in detail the structure, will find an example of the art of building in great perfection, will see how difficulties were overcome by zealous execution, will learn how much the good material in the hands of the skilful artist contributed to the firmness of the building, which has been safely standing for many years.

L'vov also explained the proliferation of the cupolas of the Cathedral: the domes crowned separate chapels with shrines transferred from the churches on the Red Square, which had been destroyed by the orders of the Tsar Ivan the Terrible.

L'vov's indication that the Cathedral was built to commemorate the conquest of Kazan by an Italian architect may have been intended to explain the extravagant architecture of the Cathedral.³⁴⁶

The Spasskaia (Saviour's) tower, constructed at the main entrance to the Kremlin by Pietro Antonio Solario in 1491 and completed by the Scot Christopher Galloway and his Russian assistant Bazhen Ogurtsov in 1624-1625 displays the influence of Gothic architecture. Galloway decorated the structure with a steeple, flying buttresses, pinnacles, pointed arches and grotesque sculptures. The Saviour's tower became one of the main landmarks of Moscow and a symbol of

the Russian state. The triumphal corteges and ceremonial processions which took place on the Red Square, in the Cathedral of the Intercession and the church of Our Lady of Kazan entered the Kremlin through the gates of the tower.³⁴⁷ L'vov in his essay praised this structure as a masterpiece of architecture, superior to all other towers of the Kremlin, such as the Trinity tower which was completed in 1685. (Plate 135) L'vov wrote:

The Saviour's tower <...> possesses both of the foremost beauties of Gothic architecture: the workmanship and lightness in its firm and clear structure. The Trinity gates seem to have been built to the same design, but certainly not by the same artist. In it (the Trinity tower), the crude copying of the Saviour's tower is seen everywhere: all the same parts, the same intention. But the ignorance of the artist used material instead of art, and the firmness founded on the thickness of the walls, which denotes lack of reason, did not allow to build on its thick basement those decorations, which on the Saviour's tower attract the attention of an artist and a connoisseur of the science of architecture even in the enlightened century.

L'vov also noted particular reverence people displayed on entering the tower and discussed the custom of taking hats off whilst going through the gates into the Kremlin. He dismissed the legend that people thus paid their respect to the icon of the Saviour placed above the entrance, which supposedly symbolised the salvation of Moscow from an epidemic of plague. Having studied the building, he also disproved the superstition that a tablet with a Latin inscription fixed

³⁴⁶ In fact, as it has been pointed out above, the Cathedral was built by Russian architects Barma and Postnik Iakovlev.

³⁴⁷ For an analysis of the design of the Spasskaia tower and its role as a national symbol of Russia, see Jeremy Howard's book on Christopher Galloway: Shotlandskii stroitel' Kremliia (The Scottish Kremlin Builder). Edinburgh: Manifesto Publications. 1997, pp.10-15.

above the gates carried an anathema for anyone passing through without taking off the hat. The translation of the Latin text included in his essay simply stated that Grand Duke Ivan commissioned the building to the Milanese Antonio Solario and the date of the construction. L'vov continued his research by consulting one of the Kremlin elders, who suggested to L'vov that the true origin of the custom laid in the fact that in the Kremlin, behind the tower, were situated apartments of the Tsars, and people by taking their hats off paid respect to their monarch who could see them.

L'vov's praise of the Saviour's tower differs from the more critical account of Bazhenov, who linked the style of the structure with barbarian tastelessness. L'vov's statement certainly indicated a change in his own attitude to Gothic architecture. Previously, he displayed lack of understanding of the Gothic style. For instance, L'vov in the Italian diary did not have much to say about the Cathedral in Florence except that it was 'a huge Gothic mass assembled of marble, famous for something that I am unaware of'.³⁴⁸ Such a transformation in L'vov's views seems to correspond with the development of the ideas of the Gothic Revival in Europe. For example, L'vov pointed out the lightness of the structure of the tower, the quality which attracted French connoisseurs of Gothic churches³⁴⁹ and was also appreciated by John Soane.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ 'Prevelikaia gromada mramornaia sbornaia goticheskaiia, slavnaia, ne znaiu chem...' 'The Italian Diary.' op.cit., p.14.

³⁴⁹ As Georg Germann has summarised, the admiration for 'the lightweight construction of Gothic edifices' expressed by the architect Maximilien de Brébion in 1780 was peculiar to the French approach to Gothic architecture. Georg Germann. Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain:

A consideration of 'the view of the Magistrate's office by the Voskresenskie gates' and 'the view of the church of the Assumption on Pokrovka and the house of Prince Gagarin on Tverskaia' throws light on the process of preparation of the album. In the note to the former illustration, L'vov honestly conceded that he was unable to find any information on the antiquity of the represented buildings due to the shortage of time. This statement emphasises the main purpose of his work and sounds as if the essay was commissioned to L'vov. In the commentary to the latter illustration, L'vov indicated his leading role in composing the views. He noted that he decided to combine the church of the Assumption on Pokrovka and the house of Gagarin in one picture, because of the similarity of their style. (Plate 136) In fact, these two structures were located in different parts of the city. However, they represented outstanding examples of the Moscow Baroque style of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and were considered masterpieces. For instance, Bazhenov praised both buildings in his speech at the ceremony of laying the foundation of the Kremlin Palace.

'The view of the village of Kolomenskoe in its ancient condition depicted from the river Moskva' and 'the view of the Stavropigal'nyi Voskresenskii (Resurrection) monastery, called New Jerusalem' illustrate the monuments in the environs of Moscow. The illustration of Kolomenskoe combines the representation of the Palace, demolished on the recommendation of Bazhenov

Sources, Influences and Ideas. London: Lund Humphries with the Architectural Association. 1972, p.73.

³⁵⁰ David Watkin. 'Soane and his Contemporaries'. op.cit., p.44.

three decades earlier, and the structures, which Quarenghi could observe. (Plate 137) Indeed, the tall church of the Ascension of Christ at Kolomenskoe, the gates next to it and the church of the Decapitation of John the Baptist at Diakovo, represented at the distance on the left side of the view, are extant. The complex of the buildings of the Palace is shown in the right half of the illustration. According to L'vov's explanation, 'these wooden apartments (terema), partly based on stone foundation, were built in 1672 and existed until 1768, when <they> were destroyed because of some dilapidation'. Quarenghi must have copied old depictions of the Palace or the model produced before its demolition and kept in the Kremlin.³⁵¹

L'vov noted that:

The village of Kolomenskoe was for a long time a suburban home of the Tsars, in which they spent several months in summer, enjoying fresh air of this high and hilly area, surrounded from all sides with gardens laid out near the river Moskva. Here, they amused themselves with falcon hunting and other field entertainments.

The symbolic motif of the rising sun was used to indicate the part of the Palace, in which Peter the Great was born in 1672. L'vov quoted a verse by Sumarokov, who celebrated the birth of the Tsar. This event was regarded by Sumarokov almost as a nativity of a saint and should have had a particular importance for Paul, who was fond of the memory of Peter the Great. In fact, it was Paul, not

³⁵¹ G.G.Grimm. Graficheskoe nasledie Kvarengi. op.cit., p.109. Dr.Mozgovaia from the faculty of Art History at the Academy of Arts of St.Petersburg informed me that there existed drawings and engravings of the palace at Kolomenskoe, produced before its destruction, for example, drawings by the German artist F.Hilferding.

Catherine, who was a legitimate heir of the Russian throne and the rightful successor of Peter. Paul emphasised this fact when he subsequently ordered to complete the monument to Peter, produced by the sculptor Bartolomeo Carlo Rastrelli and cast in 1745-1747, and to place it in front of his new residence of Mikhailovskii castle. A meaningful dedication 'Pradedu pravnuk' ('To the great grand father from the great grand son') was inscribed on the pedestal.

The monastery of the Resurrection, located on the Istra river some fifty miles west of Moscow, was probably chosen for L'vov's closer examination because of its religious significance.³⁵² (Plate 138) This complex was founded by patriarch Nikon in 1656 as a symbolic embodiment of the Holy City of Jerusalem in Russia. L'vov wrote:

The beauty of this place provoked the thought of patriarch Nikon <...> to establish on this site a monastery similar to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. <...> The Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich himself was present at <the ceremony> of the consecration of the old church and, following the wish of the patriarch, gave the name of Eleon to the mountain, on which the new structure was to stand, and New Jerusalem to the monastery. As a result of this, the patriarch sent to Palestine the cellarer of the Trinity monastery Arsenii Sukhanov, who brought back designs of the structure standing above the sepulchre of Christ. According to these <designs>, building commenced and continued until 1666 when patriarch Nikon was exiled for penitence in the monasteries of Ferapontov and then Kirillov in Vologda <region>.

³⁵² G.G.Grimm indicated that the drawing of the Resurrection monastery was copied by Quarenghi from an engraving of V.Kazakov. Ibid., p.110.

The idea of establishing New Jerusalem in Russia must have been of considerable interest to Paul, who contemplated a new crusade to free the Holy City from infidels.

L'vov's study of the antiquities of Moscow reflected growing interest in the society in Russian national art and was parallel to Bazhenov and Kazakov's project of publication of an encyclopaedia of Russian architecture proposed at the end of the 1790s but left unrealised.³⁵³ The idea of Bazhenov and Kazakov was to collect engravings of the famous Russian buildings in a book entitled Rossiiskaia arkhitektura. (Russian Architecture). L'vov subsequently attempted to promote study of Russian artists. In 1800, L'vov was collecting information for a pioneering 'Dictionary of Artists', which would have included entries on a Medieval icon painter Andrei Rublev (c.1360-1430) and a number of the eighteenth-century artists including Anton Losenko, Levitskii and the architect Kokorinov. L'vov's letter to the vice president of the Academy of Arts Piotr Chekalevskii of 23rd of April 1800 reveals the patriotic sentiment, which probably inspired L'vov's work on the 'Essay on the Russian Antiquities of Moscow'. L'vov wrote: 'Information on foreign artists I could borrow anywhere; but I could find nothing on our own achievements'. L'vov then asks Chekalevskii to send him biographies and assessments of works of several Russian painters. L'vov also contacted Levitskii and the famous art collector and patron Count

³⁵³ G.G.Grimm. Graficheskoe nasledie Kvarengi. op.cit., pp.133, 155; N.A.Evsina. op.cit., p.94.

Alexander Stroganov, the owner of the richest collection of paintings in the late eighteenth-century Russia.³⁵⁴

Further, L'vov and Quarenghi's interest in Russian antiquities is parallel to the advancement of the research into medieval heritage in Britain, where particular attention was paid to the study of ecclesiastical architecture with emphasis on the precision of illustration of the monuments. British publications which appeared under the auspices of the Society of Antiquarians simultaneously with L'vov's essay included the 'Cathedral Series' published since 1795 and devoted to thorough analysis and illustration of several major ecclesiastical buildings in Britain, such as St.Stephen's Chapel in Westminster and Exeter Cathedral, The Ancient Architecture of England published by John Carter from 1795 and others.³⁵⁵

L'vov's sharp criticism of the destructive attempts to reconstruct the Kremlin coincided with the development of preservationist attitude towards Medieval buildings in Britain. For example, during 1796 and 1797, the heated controversy in the London Society of Antiquarians about the nature of restoration works undertaken by James Wyatt in Lichfield, Salisbury, Hereford and Durham Cathedrals, led to the spread of the influence of 'preservationists'. They advocated the protection and study of Medieval monuments and objected to

³⁵⁴ RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, p.216 reverse. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N115, pp.17, 18-19, 36; N117, p.215 reverse. See also A.N.Glumov. op.cit., p.165.

³⁵⁵ For more information, see: Jonh Frew. 'An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: the Transformation of Medievalist Research, 1770-1800'. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. Vol.XLIII. University of London. The Warburg Institute. 1980, pp.175-185.

unnecessary 'improvements', which involved redecoration and changes of the original fabric of the ancient buildings.³⁵⁶

The correlation of the ideas embodied in L'vov's essay with those promoted in the Society of Antiquaries possibly indicated a new stage in cultural interchange between Russia and Britain, which may have accompanied political rapprochement of the two Empires. Indeed, Paul at the beginning of his reign was anxious to strengthen the political union with Britain, which was aimed at preventing the threat of the expansion of the French revolution in Europe.³⁵⁷

Paul's romantic fascination with chivalry may well have found appropriate artistic expression through the ideas of the Gothic Revival. It is possible to suggest that Paul's anglophilia took a different direction by comparison with that of Catherine: instead of patronising British-inspired Palladianism, the Tsar chose to promote romantic tendencies in architecture. The Palace of Priorat in Gatchina, designed by L'vov for Paul I is an example of such a stylistic shift. (See chapter IV) The concept of L'vov's essay could have been influenced by this new wave of the official anglophilia.

L'vov's essay was an important step towards the definition of the Gothic style in the context of Russian architecture. It is significant that he used the term 'Gothic' only in relation to the Saviour's tower, which features pointed arches and flying buttresses characteristic for Gothic architecture. L'vov's stylistic analysis was

³⁵⁶ John M.Frew. 'Richard Gough, James Wyatt, and Late 18th-Century Preservation'. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol.XXXVIII, Dec.1979, pp.366-374.

³⁵⁷ Roderick E. McGrew. op.cit., pp.308-314.

more precise than that presented by Bazhenov in his 'Declaration on the Foundation of the Kremlin Palace'. Bazhenov described as 'Gothic' the structures which substantially differed from each other both chronologically and stylistically, for instance, the Saviour's tower, the Sukhareva tower, built in 1692-1695 and rebuilt in 1701, which combined motifs of Medieval Russian, Classical and Baroque architecture, and the Baroque church of St.Clement constructed in 1762-1770.³⁵⁸

However, L'vov did not indicate what exactly constituted the style of Medieval Russian architecture. His research must have led him to realise that major monuments of Medieval Moscow, such as the buildings on the Cathedral square in the Kremlin and the Saviour's tower, were built by foreign architects and were influenced by European architectural styles. Instead of attempting to define the features of the national style, L'vov linked the Medieval monuments of Moscow with the events of the Russian history and customs of the Russian people.

³⁵⁸ For reproductions of both Sukhareva tower and the church of St.Clement, see: William Craft Brumfield. *op.cit.*, figures 261, 328.

CHAPTER III, PART III

THE PARK OF PRINCE BEZBORODKO IN MOSCOW

One of the most outstanding projects designed by Quarenghi in collaboration with L'vov was the residence of Prince Alexander Bezborodko on the Vorontsovo field on the right bank of the river Iauza, one kilometre from the Kremlin. However, the concepts of the both architects were left on paper, since Bezborodko's death on 21st of April 1799 brought an end to the whole project.

The piece of land for the new residence was one of the gifts to Bezborodko given by Paul I at his coronation in April 1797.³⁵⁹ Paul's generosity to Bezborodko was exceptional: other rewards included the title of the Prince and two estates, a total of sixteen thousand souls. After the death of Catherine, Bezborodko supposedly helped Paul to locate and destroy her edict, which would have removed Paul from succession in favour of his son Alexander. The new Tsar also highly appreciated Bezborodko's thorough expertise in all aspects of Russian politics and promoted him to the rank of the imperial chancellor.³⁶⁰

The new Bezborodko's residence was to demonstrate his great wealth and superior position in the state hierarchy. The functions of the city Palace, country residence surrounded with picturesque park and public centre were uniquely combined in the that ensemble. The house in Bezborodko's own words 'should

³⁵⁹ M.F.Korshunova. *Dzhakomo Kvarengi*. Lenizdat, 1977.

³⁶⁰ Roderick E. McGrew. *op.cit.*, pp.190, 199-200, 239.

show for posterity that in our century and in our land taste was known'.³⁶¹ The large palatial building was to have fifty apartments: the grand halls were designed to house Prince's famous collections of paintings and sculptures, which included works attributed to Rubens and Jacob Jordaens,³⁶² a theatre was located in one of the wings. Bezborodko was well-known for his patronage of the arts that was acknowledged by the St.Petersburg Academy of Arts, which granted him the title of 'a honorary connoisseur of arts' (pochiotnyi khudozhestv liubitel') in 1794.³⁶³

Living rooms occupied less important place in the house. For instance, L'vov contributed to the decoration of the interior by producing the design for the boudoir.³⁶⁴ (Plate 139) The small room decorated with silk upholstery, mirrors, comfortable sofa, elegant table and art objects should have created an ambience, which perfectly suited the taste of the Prince, famous for his voluptuousness. It has much in common with the concept of French boudoir as an 'asylum of love',³⁶⁵ but has nothing of the grandeur of Palladio's interiors inspired by public

³⁶¹ Letter from Bezborodko to Alexander Vorontsov of 1796. N.Grigorovich. op.cit., vol.II, p.379.

³⁶² Bezborodko described his recent accessions of art objects in a letter to L'vov of 9th of February 1798. N.Grigorovich. op.cit., vol.II, p.652-653; Bezborodko's collection inherited and enriched by the family of the Kushelev-Bezborodkos is described and catalogued in: B.I.Asvarishch. Kushelevskaia galereia zapadnoevropeiskoi zhivopisi XIX veka. (Kushelev Gallery of West European Painting of Nineteenth century). St.Petersburg: The State Hermitage. 1993.

³⁶³ N.Grigorovich. op.cit., vol.II, p.338.

³⁶⁴ The design of the 'Boudoir in the Moscow house of Prince Bezborodko' was produced in water colour, Indian ink and pen is signed by L'vov. It is kept in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, N 12600. That work is L'vov's only known design for the decoration of an interior.

³⁶⁵ A.Vidler. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. op.cit., p.51.

buildings of the ancient Rome. Thus the design for the house combines both the halls which have the representative function, such as art galleries intended for the use as a museum possibly open to the public of the privileged classes,³⁶⁶ and private suites. The same distinction between public and private areas was emphasised in the design for the park.

The concept of the residence of Bezborodko reflected contemporary discussions concerning the role of arts in society. In keeping with the ideas of the Enlightenment, arts and architecture were supposed to have had a power to improve the mankind. For example, the anonymous author of the article 'Velikolepie zdanii polezno gosudarstvu' ('The Magnificence of Buildings is Useful for the State') urged the rich and powerful to erect structures, which please the eye and perfect the taste of the beholder.³⁶⁷ Bezborodko must have been aware of such concepts and prepared to grant the privilege of access to his residence to the people.

The concept of the park was elaborated by L'vov in an essay entitled 'Kakim obrazom dolzhno bylo by raspolozhit' sad kniazia Bezborodki v Moskve' ('In what way the garden of Prince Bezborodko in Moscow should be laid out'), which was included in an album of designs for the park. (For a translation of the full text of the essay see Appendix I) This text written in parallel Russian and

³⁶⁶ G.G.Grimm. Graficheskoe nasledie Kvarengi. op.cit., p.11.

³⁶⁷ The article was published in the journal Poleznoe s priiatnym. (The Useful and the Pleasing). St.Petersburg, 1769, halfvol. X. Quoted in: N.A.Evsina. op.cit., p.84.

French versions represents a major contribution to garden theory in Russia in eighteenth century.³⁶⁸

For L'vov, the essay he wrote provided an opportunity to use his talent for literature and proficiency in architecture for a gardening project. L'vov gained a reputation as an arbiter of taste in the literary society of St.Petersburg: his friends, leading Russian poets, such as Vasilii Kapnist, Ivan Khemnitser and Gavriil Derzhavin, entrusted him to edit their writings. His own publications included verses and a translation of the ancient Greek poet Anacreon.³⁶⁹ The brilliant literary style makes L'vov's essay on the park of Bezborodko a significant contribution to Russian literature of the late eighteenth century. The text represents the elaborate programme of the park and is divided into several sections devoted to the layout of the regular and 'natural' (English) parts and the description of major garden structures. The illustrations serve a complementary role in the album and not infrequently omit details described in the text. Thus L'vov's project serves as an example of the dominating influence of literature on the landscape typical for eighteenth century gardening.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ The album is kept in the Museum of the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg. No. KP 100/3. For the translation of L'vov's essay see Appendix 1.

³⁶⁹ Stikhotvorenie Anakreona Tiiskogo. St.Petersburg, 1794. For more information on L'vov's literary works see the preface and commentaries by K.Lappo-Danilevskii to L'vov's Izbrannye sochineniia (Selected writings), op.cit.

³⁷⁰ For analyses of the relationship between literature and gardening see: the introduction to The English Garden. Literary Sources and Documents. Edited and with an Introduction by Michael Charlesworth. Helm Information Ltd., vol.I, pp.3-46; Dmitrii Likhachiov. Poeziia sadov. K

An example of a garden which can be 'read' like a book is Stowe, Buckinghamshire, laid out for the aristocratic Whig family of the Temple-Grenvilles since the 1680s and through the eighteenth century. The landscapes at Stowe were intended to represent political or moral statements and were inspired by works of literature, for instance, the Elysian Fields embody the ideas expressed by Joseph Addison in his influential essays in The Spectator.³⁷¹ L'vov possibly knew about the gardens at Stowe, which are supposed to have been one of the sources for the park at Tsarskoe Selo.³⁷²

In Russia, the park at Alexandrova, a residence of the grand dukes Alexander and Constantine near Pavlovsk, was laid out to illustrate a tale relating the story of Prince Khlor (Skazka o tsareviche Khlore) written by Catherine the Great for her grandchildren.³⁷³ The description of the journey of the Prince in search of virtue was recreated in the landscape of the park decorated with several structures, such as the Temple of the rose with no prickles, a symbol of virtue.³⁷⁴ L'vov must

semantike sadovo-parkovykh stilei (The Poetry of gardens. On Semantics of Gardening Styles). Leningrad: Nauka. 1982.

³⁷¹ John Martin Robinson. Temples of Delight. Stowe Landscape Gardens. The National Trust. Pitkin. 1990, pp.22, 26.

³⁷² Peter Hayden. 'The Russian Stowe. Benton Seeley's guidebooks as a source of Catherine the Great's park at Tsarskoe Selo'. Garden History. 1991, pp.21-27. Although Peter Hayden does not present sufficient evidence to support his argument, the comparison of the political contents expressed in the gardens at Stowe and the imperial ideas embodied in the gardens at Tsarskoe Selo is credible.

³⁷³ The tale was the first example of Russian literature published in Britain: 'Ivan Czarowitz, or The Rose without Prickles, that Stings not'. The Bee. Edinburgh, 1793.

³⁷⁴ A.N.Glumov. op.cit., p.37. For the description and pictures of Alexandrova see accordingly: A.G.Cross. 'Dzhunkovskii's Alexandrova: Putting Samborskii in the Picture'. Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia. Newsletter, No. 3, 1975, pp.22-29; A.G.Cross. 'Anglofilia u trona'.

have been aware of the literary associations of the park, since he participated in works on that estate at the beginning of the 1780s. Subsequently in the design for the park of Bezborodko, L'vov masterfully exploited the possibilities of the garden scenery to convey political and allegoric messages.

L'vov was well informed of essential publications on gardening, such as the poem Les Jardins, ou l'art d'embellir les paysages by Jaques Delille first published in Paris in 1782³⁷⁵ and the treatise Théorie de l'art des jardins by Christian Cay L. von Hirschfeld,³⁷⁶ both of which were instrumental in disseminating the ideas of English gardening in Europe. L'vov studied Delille's poem and even knew parts of it by heart³⁷⁷, while his comments on the margins of Hirschfeld's book were hailed as one of the major sources on L'vov's views on gardening.³⁷⁸ Together these publications present the full scope of information on gardening, complemented by descriptions of major European parks and references to other theoretical writings. For instance, Hirschfeld mentioned Thomas Whately, whose Observations on Modern Gardening

Britantsy i russkie v vek Ekateriny II (Anglophilia on the Throne. The British and the Russians in the Age of Catherine the Great) Exhibition catalogue compiled by Anthony Cross. The British Council., 1992, p.95.

³⁷⁵ A Russian translation of the poem was used in the preparation of this chapter: Jaques Delille. Sady. Leningrad: Nauka. 1987.

³⁷⁶ M.V.Budylyna et al. op.cit., p.50. Christian Cay L. von Hirschfeld. Théorie de l'art des jardins. vol.I-V, Leipzig, 1779-1785. Hirschfeld's treatise with L'vov's marginal notes was kept in the Library of the Pushkin Museum of the Fine Arts in Moscow. However, I was unable to locate it during my visit to Moscow in 1996.

³⁷⁷ Fiodor P. L'vov. 'Nikolai Alexandrovich L'vov'. Published in: N.A.L'vov. Izbrannye sochineniia. op.cit., p.367.

³⁷⁸ M.V.Budylyna et al. op.cit., p.50.

published in Paris in 1771 is the most complete description of the principles of landscape gardening. L'vov may well have known about the translation of Whately's treatise edited by Catherine the Great at the beginning of the 1770s and addressed to 'the owners of the seaside summer houses on the road to Peterhof'.³⁷⁹ His concept of the park of Bezborodko was considerably influenced by the ideas of these theorists.

Thus at the beginning of his essay, L'vov declared that the design for the park should have 'something new' in its character due to its advantageous location at the centre of Moscow. The setting of the park had to reflect the grandeur of the city and serve as a 'rich frame' to the magnificent house and, therefore, the design could be nothing else but 'architectural and symmetrical'. However, L'vov also intended to introduce picturesque features into the design and thus to combine the two dominant gardening styles of the eighteenth century based on the contrasting concepts of Kent and Le Nôtre: 'to enliven the cold uniformity of the latter, who for the sake of magnificence suppressed the nature under the straight line, with lively and diverse beauties of the creator of English gardens, and to put into one picture the garden of splendour and the garden of pleasure.'

The selective use of the features of the regular style in picturesque gardens was advocated by Delille, who praised the contribution of both Kent and Le Nôtre to the art of gardening: 'Le Nôtre and Kent are equally worth of fame. Kent

³⁷⁹ However, that translation was never published. Anthony G. Cross. 'Catherine the Great and Thomas Whateley's Observations on Modern Gardening'. Study Group on Eighteenth Century Russia. Newsletter, 18. 1990, pp.21-29.

discovered for the philosophers the beauty of woods and fields, Le Nôtre laid out his gardens for kings'.³⁸⁰

The layout of the park is composed of three distinct parts: the symmetrically arranged setting near the house serves as a transition from the regularity of the architecture of the house to the picturesque landscape of the central part of the park, which in its turn gives way to the area designed as a formal continuation of the architecture of the city, since it is intended to be used for public entertainment, for instance, sports exercises. Each of the sections has a clearly defined role in the programme of the park. (Plate 140)

The 'upper monument' adjacent to the house and situated on its main axis is the key to the understanding the symbolism of the park. (Plate 141) The glorification of the personality of Bezborodko, his contribution to the success of Russia's foreign policy and ultimately to the prosperity and the might of the Empire are the themes pervading the whole concept of the park. The main feature of the 'upper monument' is a bronze colossal statue of a goddess, whose attributes, such as the spear and the helmet, unequivocally signify Pallas Athena or Minerva.

The image of Athena is almost certainly a symbolic representation of Catherine. The association of Catherine with that goddess under either Greek or Roman name was not unusual. For instance, the poet Alexander Sumarokov in his verse dedicated to the ceremony of laying the foundation of Bazhenov's Kremlin

³⁸⁰ Delille. *op.cit.*, p.30.

Palace in 1773 alluded to the Empress who was present at the ceremony: the poet pictured a mountain destroyed by the will of the monarch and Pallas arriving in glory to reside in the Kremlin.³⁸¹ The sculptor Mikhail Kozlovskii portrayed Catherine as Minerva in a statue executed in 1785: the Empress is dressed in antique clothes, her head is crowned with a helmet, left hand holding a shield and right arm raised.³⁸² The composition of the figure is probably based on that of Athena Parthenos produced by Phidias for the sanctuary of the Parthenon in V century BC and known through several Hellenistic and Roman copies.³⁸³ Athena Parthenos may also have been inspiration for the statue of Athena depicted in L'vov's upper monument: the standing figure in the antique dress crowned with the helmet and holding the spear reminds one of the ancient prototype.³⁸⁴

³⁸¹ N.A.Evsina. *op.cit.*, p.78.

³⁸² The sculpture is reproduced in: baron N.N.Vrangel'. Istoria skul'ptury (A history of Sculpture), in Igor' Grabar'. Istoria russkogo iskusstva (A History of Russian Art), vol.V. Moscow: I.Knebel', the pre-Revolutionary edition, p.100. The sculpture was kept at Pavlovsk Palace.

³⁸³ For illustrations of imitations of that statue see: John Boardman. Greek Sculpture. The Classical Period. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985, plates 97-106, 199-206.

³⁸⁴ Another imitation of Phidias's original may have been a sculpture in Menelaws's design produced at the end of eighteenth century for the estate of the magnates Razumovskii's in Gorenki. The design is kept in the department of drawings of the State Hermitage in St.Petersburg, N41347. According to its English caption, the design represents a 'choice of divans & other decorations with the plan & facade of the Gardener's house at Gorinky (sic)'. Menelaws depicted a standing figure in antique dress, head covered with a helmet, with a spear in the left hand and a shield. The sculpture probably represents Athena and could well have symbolised the Empress, who patronised the Razumovskii's. Menelaws probably knew about L'vov's work for the park of Bezborodko, since he possessed copies of designs for the park. See: G.G.Grimm. 'Proekt parka Bezborodko v Moskve. (Materialy k izucheniiu tvorchestva N.A.L'vova)' 'The project of the park of Bezborodko in Moscow. (Materials for the study of the creativity of L'vov)'. Soobshcheniia instituta istorii iskusstv Akademii nauk SSSR (Proceedings of the Institute of the History of Art of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), 4-5. Moscow, 1954, p.127.

Given the animosity of Paul to the memory of his mother, the use of the allegoric statue to represent the late Empress seems logical. In his private apartments, Bezborodko's intention to commemorate Catherine was more outspoken. For example, in a letter to L'vov of 9th of February 1798, the Prince described a drawing room in his house in St.Petersburg decorated with Levitskii's portrait of the Empress embellished with a new, magnificent frame and with a 'pedestal' in front of it ornamented with medals glorifying her reign.³⁸⁵

A similar idea to celebrate the accomplishments of a nobleman by linking his name to the glory of the late monarch is embodied in an obelisk built by the Earl of Strafford at Wentworth Castle in 1734 which carries this inscription:

To the Pious
Glorious
And immortal memory of Queen Anne
This obelisk was erected
by her most faithful Minister
Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford
<...>
Which said Earl,
at the death of that most
Excellent Princess
was one of the seven appointed by act
of Parliament to be Regents of the
Kingdome during the absence of the
Successor, as first Lord of the Admiralty,

³⁸⁵ N.Grigorovich. op.cit., vol.II, p.652. The portrait produced in 1783 is now kept at the State Russian Museum in St.Petersburg.

of great Britain and Ireland was
 likewise Lieut. General of all her majesty's
 Forces. Colonel of the first and Royal Reg
 of Dragoons was of the Cabinet and Privy
 Council Ambassador Extraordinary to the
 States General, and likewise Plenipotentiary
 for the Congress and peace of Utrecht.³⁸⁶

However, instead of attempting to list the achievements of his client in a written text L'vov chose to express them in the forms of architecture combined with garden scenery.

The 'upper monument' is an embodiment of the programme, which explains the meaning of the park in peculiar and slightly equivocal allegoric language. L'vov may have deliberately sought ambiguity: for instance, while creating allegoric images for Derzhavin's Collected Works he pointed out that in order to avoid the morals becoming boring he 'put a thin veil of allegory upon them and left it to guesswork'.³⁸⁷ L'vov's interest in allegory also manifests itself in the programme for Levitskii's portrait of Catherine in which the Empress is represented as a priestess surrounded with symbols of the truth, victory, enlightenment and good government. She is sacrificing her rest for the good of her people by burning poppy flowers on the altar of Femida.

The text of L'vov's essay indicates that the pedestal of the statue was to be decorated with reliefs describing some unspecified philanthropic and heroic

³⁸⁶ Quoted in: The English Garden. Literary Sources & Documents. op.cit., pp.16-17.

³⁸⁷ Emblemy I simvoly. op.cit., p.297.

deeds. The 'mountain' made of rough stones, on which the sculpture stands, possibly signifies the subjugation of the barbarian forces by reason and military might or, alternatively, the necessity, firmness and permanence of the virtues symbolised by Athena or both.³⁸⁸ The cave inside the mountain contains an altar of gratitude to the goddess, who 'benefited the owner'.

The central effigy of the 'upper monument' is surrounded with a colonnade of ten Greek Doric columns. L'vov planned to enrich the impression of grandeur of the design of the temple by using semi-precious stones, such as Siberian jasper and agate, as the material for the columns, the frieze and the cornice. Both the sculpture of Athena and the Greek Doric order probably symbolise the 'Greek Project' formulated by Bezborodko in 1799-1780 and partially fulfilled by the treaty of Jassy: that agreement confirmed Russian annexation of the Crimea and other areas on the north coast of the Black sea, including the region from the river Bug to the Dniestr.³⁸⁹ Russian expansion into the territories originally colonised by the Greeks since seventh century BC resulted in founding new cities such as Odessa which was to become a major trade centre and Sebastopol, the base of the Russian Black sea fleet. During 1787, the Catherine accompanied by Joseph II, King Stanislas of Poland, the highest officials of the court and foreign envoys surveyed the newly gained region, visiting Kherson, Kremenchug, which

³⁸⁸ For explanations of the motif of the mountain see: Emblemy I simvol'y. Vstupitel'naia statia I kommentarii Alexandra Evgenievicha Makhova. Moscow: Intrada, 1995. That volume is a reprint of the treatise Selecta Emblemata et Symbola, published by the order of Peter the Great in Amsterdam in 1705 and reissued in St.Petersburg in 1788.

was the central city of the province called New Russia, and Sebastopol, where they were entertained by the powerful Prince Potemkin of Tauride (Crimea), who was responsible for developing and colonising the area. L'vov was a part of the suite and must have been fully aware of the scale and ideology of Catherine's undertaking.³⁹⁰ Although the 'Greek Project' fell far short of the initial objective to liberate Constantinople from the Turks, the Empress continued to elaborate her plans of the southward expansion until the final year of her reign, when she encouraged Platon Zubov, one of her lovers, to formulate the 'Oriental Project', which aimed at recreating the empire of Alexander the Great.³⁹¹

By using the Greek Doric L'vov also drew a parallel to St. Joseph's, which signified the beginning of that political scheme. Bronze incense burners placed on the colonnade emphasise the function of the structure as a temple and may also symbolise Asia, from which the incense was exported, once again alluding to Russian interests on that continent. Significantly enough, Athena was one of the allegoric representations of Europe.³⁹² Thus the whole concept of the monument is closely related to one of the major issues of Russian political propaganda: Russians sought to represent themselves as defenders of the European nations against the Turkish threat. The wreaths situated between the

³⁸⁹ For more information see: Norman E. Saul. Russia and the Mediterranean 1797-1807. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 1970, pp.10-11, 13-14; Isabel de Madariaga. Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great. op.cit., pp.383-384, 387-388.

³⁹⁰ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.9.

³⁹¹ Paul Dukes. The Making of Russian Absolutism 1613-1801. Second edition. London and New York: Longman. 1990, p.177.

³⁹² Emblemy I simvol'y. op.cit., p.61.

incense burners symbolise civil and military glory. By using these ancient Roman emblems L'vov drew comparison between Bezborodko and antique heroes, who fought the enemies to ensure the peace and the prosperity of their people.

Significantly enough, it was Bezborodko who negotiated the crucial peace treaty with Turkey in Jassy in 1792, which triumphantly ended Russian-Turkish wars of the eighteenth century. Russian expansion was made possible by the victories of the Russian army and navy, the celebration of which is one of the main themes of the park.

The design for the 'upper monument' seems to have been inspired by the Temple of Ceres in the park of Alexandrova.³⁹³ That structure was a rotunda of twelve Greek Doric columns fluted on the three quarters of their length, the plain frieze was decorated with circular decorative motifs (medallions) and vases were placed on top of the entablature.³⁹⁴ (Plate 142) The colonnade in the project for the park of Bezborodko differs from that of the Temple at Alexandrova only in details, such as the number of columns. Further, not just the design but also the allegorical meaning of the Temple of Ceres has much in common with L'vov's 'upper monument'. Thus the statue of Ceres situated in the centre of the Temple at Alexandrova probably represented Catherine, as did the sculpture of the same goddess in the Temple of Friendship at the park at Pavlovsk. The rock located next to the Temple carried the inscription 'keep the golden books' (khrani zlatye

³⁹³ The fullest historic study of the estate of Alexandrova is that by N.I.Gromova. 'Aleksandrova dacha.' 1956. That typewritten work can be consulted at the Academic Department of the palace museum at Pavlovsk.

³⁹⁴ The temple of Ceres had disappeared by 1871, when the estate was bought by the Grand Duke Kostantin Nikolaevich, the owner of Pavlovsk. See: N.I.Gromova. *Ibid.*, pp.14-15.

knigi) and symbolised the formidability of Catherine's Instruction (Nakaz) to the Legislative Commission of 1767, in which she outlined the principles of good government and orderly society.

Both L'vov and several Scots stonemasons were engaged in building Alexandrova, though the lack of archival evidence makes it impossible to determine the degree of their contribution.³⁹⁵ A drawing attributed to L'vov by M.V.Budylna et al. represents the Temple of Ceres and leaves no doubt that the architect was thoroughly acquainted with the designs executed on that estate.³⁹⁶ (Plate 143) L'vov's drawing closely resembles the engraving signed 'I.G.', which illustrates the poem Alexandrova by Stepan Dzhunkovskii: both pictures represent the Temple of Ceres on the right side in the foreground and the landscape of the park with a bridge over the river Tyzva and the building of the Grand Dukes' dacha in the background.³⁹⁷ (Plate 142) The engraving also shows the Palace at Pavlovsk at a distance, thereby revealing the visual connection between the two ensembles.

³⁹⁵ For instance, the correspondence between Cameron and the Office of Building of Tsarskoe Selo (Kontora stroenii sela Tsarskogo) indicates that five Scots stonemasons worked at Alexandrova in 1787. No further evidence is presently available. M.V.Budylna. op.cit., p.18.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Stepan Dzhunkovskii. Aleksandrova, uveselitel'nyi sad ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Blagovernogo Gosudaria I Velikogo Kniazia Aleksandra Pavlovicha. (Alexandrova, the Pleasure Garden of His Imperial Highness Holy Sovereign and Grand Duke Alexander Pavlovich). St.Petersburg: Academy of Sciences. 1793; second edition was published in Khar'kov: The University Printing House. 1810.

Both the designs of the pavilions and their ideological significance have much in common in the parks at Pavlovsk and at Alexandrova. For example, the Temple of Ceres is similar to the Apollo Colonnade built by Cameron from 1780 until 1783 and situated opposite the Palace. The Colonnade with its double circle of baseless Doric columns and the medallions decorating the frieze was probably the prototype for the Temple of Ceres. The forms of the Colonnade together with the idea to make a cascade running from the basement of the structure may well have influenced L'vov's concept of the 'upper monument'.

Water is one of the main decorative features in Bezborodko's park. The 'upper monument' contains the source which supplies other parts of the park. Water is pumped up to the base of the statue of Athena by means of a steam engine, which is probably a variation of the engine constructed by a master called Smith under the direction of Menelaws in the School of Earth Construction in Tiukhili.³⁹⁸ L'vov intended to experiment with picturesque qualities of water: cascades cover four openings in the 'mountain' and the fire set on the altar during celebrations and seen through moving water produces mysterious effect. Water collected in the large marble basin at the base of the temple is directed to the grotto or

³⁹⁸ L'vov intended to use a steam engine for the production of the so called 'stone cardboard' (*kamennyi karton*), a kind of durable roofing material. (RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N100, p.76) It is comparable to tarred paper used by Scottish farmers for the same purpose. (See: John Martin Robinson. *Georgian Model Farms. A Study of Decorative and Model Farm Buildings in the Age of Improvement. 1700-1846*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, p.60). The engine for Tiukhili was produced under the direction of Charles Gascoigne at the Alexandrovskaia plant in Petrozavodsk, a city situated 300 km north-east of St.Petersburg. (RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, p.55 reverse) L'vov also intended to use a steam engine in coalmining. One of the main assignments of Menelaws during his visit to Britain in 1800 was to hire experts in steam engines. (RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, pp. 191-192, 196, 232) However, none of these projects was completed.

‘underground hall’ situated below the monument where it covers a three sided ‘pyramid of flowers’ and forms a veil over two fireplaces, thereby preventing the fire from warming the room designed as a retreat from the heat and creating the special effect of lighting. (Plate 144) L’vov’s description suggests that the ‘upper monument’ was designed for mystical rituals, possibly related to deification of Catherine. The concept of the temple of Athena reveals the symbolism of the four elements: earth, water, fire and air, represented by the ‘mountain’, the fountain, the sacrificial altar fire and the incense burners.

L’vov’s description of the ‘underground structure’ offers the architect’s original solution to the problem, which faced European garden designers: whether the designs for grottoes and cascades be ‘natural’ and ‘primitive’ or follow the forms of architecture. In this instance, L’vov chose the second option, since in his opinion, which was probably influenced by Vitruvius, natural caves cannot be ‘correct’ structures and, therefore, should not be imitated. The proximity of the Palace also produces the need for the stylistic relationship between it and the structure in the adjacent area of the park, which serves as a pedestal and provides access to the Palace. In fact, the design for the ‘underground hall’ with its double staircases and the arch repeats that of the basement of the Kremlin Palace designed by L’vov in 1797³⁹⁹ and built with the assistance of Menelaws.

The text of the album contains not only the programme and the description of the design, but also a critical analysis of the theory and practice of eighteenth century

³⁹⁹ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., pp.26-27.

gardening. Although L'vov accepted the established language of both formal and picturesque styles, he did not subscribe entirely to either of them. The principle for selecting the features in L'vov's design was determined by their suitability to the purposes put forward in the programme. However, tradition did not always satisfy L'vov. For example, the term 'underground hall' (podzemnoe stroenie) was selected by L'vov as an alternative to 'grotto', which according to him did not properly denote the design and function of his proposed structure. According to L'vov, 'grottoes' in the formal gardens fail to perform their function: their interiors are filled with unnecessary decoration of sculptures, shells and mica, but they have no capacity to provide a cool retreat from the heat of the day. On the contrary, L'vov described his 'underground structure' as a model of functionalism: its walls are separated from the ground and a ventilation system is conceived to avoid wetness penetrating the walls, the cascades and flowers in the interior cool and refresh the air and special rooms are provided as the retreats from the heat. The pyramid in Nikolskoe was the first example of L'vov's garden structures in which the emphasis on functionalism coexisted with mystical connotations. The design for the 'underground structure' may also have had a precedent in the 'grotto and cascade made of English stones' in Peterhof under the direction of 'an English stonemason', possibly Menelaws, to whom L'vov sent two workmen in May 1785.⁴⁰⁰ The grotto of rough stones constructed by Menelaws at Gorenki may well have been a variation of the designs he executed in collaboration with L'vov.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p.18.

The semicircular terrace with stairs descending from the 'underground structure' to the park is decorated with sculptural groups and statues. 'Natural' caves built in the basement of the terrace, from which water coming from the cascades above appears as springs, form the transition between the architectural monument and the English garden.

The synthesis of architecture, sculpture and water in the 'upper monument', 'underground structure' and semicircular terrace is inspired by the designs of regular gardens. French examples, such as the cascades at the park at Saint-Cloud in the outskirts of Paris and Versailles, may have been L'vov's points of departure in the creation of his original concept. Two decades earlier, during his visit to France in 1777 L'vov examined both gardens and paid particular attention to the cascades and grottoes at Saint-Cloud and the machines for pumping water for the fountains in Versailles.⁴⁰²

L'vov intended to recreate the 'natural' forms of water in his project, such as cascades, springs, a brook and ponds. Such an artificial approach aimed at producing the impression of naturalness that was characteristic for English gardens and advocated by contemporary theorists, such as Thomas Whately in his book Observations on Modern Gardening. Whately's ideas about the role of water in the picturesque landscape correspond closely to those embodied by L'vov in the design for Bezborodko's park. For instance, Whately pointed out that 'so various are the characteristics which water assume, that there is scarcely

⁴⁰¹ Pamiatniki arkhitektury Moskovskoi oblasti. op.cit., vol.I, pp.9-10.

an idea in which it may not concur or an impression it cannot enforce'.⁴⁰³ In L'vov's project, water helps both to create moods appropriate to various scenes in the picturesque landscape and to enrich emblematic meaning in the design of the regular parts of the park.

L'vov's concept of the park of Bezborodko continues the tradition of Russian eighteenth century gardens, in which water was one of the main decorative motifs. The assimilation of water in the landscapes symbolised Russian advance to the sea, an idea crucial for Russian politics since the time of Peter the Great: several long and bloody wars were waged during the eighteenth century both on the Baltic and on the Azov, Black and Mediterranean seas to break Russia's continental isolation and to ensure her access to the international water ways. The greatest example of the symbolic use of water are the gardens at Peterhof, Peter the Great's residence near St.Petersburg, designed to celebrate Russian ascension to the status of naval power: the fountains, cascades, canals, allegoric sculptures and the grandiose scale of the whole ensemble probably inspired L'vov's concept of the park of Bezborodko. So important was the idea of the assimilation of water as a symbolic representation of the political objectives that Catherine suggested to create imaginary Black sea at the fete on the Khodynka field, near Moscow designed by Bazhenov and Kazakov in 1775 to glorify the victorious conclusion of the Russian-Turkish war of 1764-74. Catherine wrote to her correspondent Baron Grimm:

⁴⁰² A.N.Glumov. op.cit., pp.19, 20.

⁴⁰³ William Howard Adams. The French Garden. 1500-1800. London: Scolar Press. 1979, p.117.

I sent for my architect Bazhenov and told him: 'My dear Bazhenov, there is a meadow three versts <a little over three miles> from the city. Imagine that the meadow is the Black Sea and there are two roads leading from the city. Now, one of them is to be the Tanais <the Greek name for the River Don> and the other the Borisfen <the Dnieper>; on the estuary of the former you will build a refectory, to be named Azov <after a Russian fortress> and on the estuary of the latter, a theatre to be called Kinburn <after a fortress which had frequently fallen in and out of Russian hands>. Construct the Crimean Peninsula out of sand and put Kerch and Enikale <Crimean cities> on it to serve as ballrooms. Opposite Crimea I want illuminations which will represent the joy of both states <Russia and Turkey> at the onset of peace... Boats and ships, to be illuminated by you, will be scattered over the area of the Black Sea'.⁴⁰⁴

L'vov's project is abound with emblems of political significance, that demonstrates his talent to use gardening motifs to express the most profound concerns of the society. He also masterfully explored the potential of the English garden to engage with human sensibility.

L'vov formulates the difference between the two major gardening styles at the beginning of the section devoted to the layout of the 'natural' garden:

'beforehand, art served grandeur and magnificence, from now on every effort is made to hide it under the artless beauties of nature'. The purpose of the picturesque part of the garden was to invoke a variety of feelings. In order to achieve this L'vov separates the English park into areas and in each of them he uses natural phenomena in combination with artifice to produce a certain emotion.

⁴⁰⁴ Quoted in: Dimitri Shvidkovsky. *The Empress & The Architect*. op.cit., pp.192-193.

Representation of garden scenes, which suit particular feelings, is characteristic for L'vov's works for theatre. For example, his interlude called 'The Preface' ('Prolog') was written in 1783 to be produced at the opening of the Russian Academy, the centre of studying the Russian language and literature. The interlude symbolises the taming of the elements by Apollo and the Muses and alludes to the enlightening role of the Academy in defeating ignorance and barbarism. The first scene represents the savageness of the nature and is accompanied by music picturing furore: 'the theatre represents wild and awful seashore, caves and restless sea, lit only by the flash of lightning, the hurricane and storm bend and whirl the branches left on the stony shore, lightnings destroy the tops of the mountains'.⁴⁰⁵ By creating that image L'vov obviously intended to invoke the sensation of the sublime, which resolves itself in the second scene: 'music changing from presto to andante announces the allaying of the elements; gloomy clouds clear off the horizon, the sea becomes calm, and the dispersed clouds in the centre of the theatre give way to sunshine.'⁴⁰⁶ A number of plays written by L'vov take place against the backdrops representing garden scenery: for instance, 'Sylph, or the dream of a young woman', completed in the 1790s, begins in the sets depicting an uncultivated garden, an arbour made of trees tied together, a simple wooden bridge over the brook and a part of a rural house. As the action progresses, the landscape in the backdrops changes, thereby helping to create emotions appropriate to different episodes. A similar principle is used in Bezborodko's park, in which instead of the change of the decorations, one should walk on specially designed paths in order to observe various meaningful scenes

⁴⁰⁵ Nikolai L'vov. *Izbrannye sochineniia*, Ibid, p.309.

and experience the change of the mood. Therefore, the park is laid out as a series of 'promenades'.

The 'morning promenade' is an Arcadian landscape designed to give the impression of cheerfulness, quietude and peacefulness. L'vov describes a meadow protected from three sides by groves of specially selected trees, such as silver fir, yew, thuya, juniper and cedar,⁴⁰⁷ and decorated with beautiful and fragrant flowers; no movement except the trembling of leaves disturbed by the wind is observed in the scene. On the edge of the meadow, opposite the house, he planned to build an aviary with its central hall used as a breakfast room. (Plate 145) A birdhouse was recommended as an appropriate architectural addition to the 'morning side' of the park by Hirschfeld, who praised beautiful songs of the birds in the early hours of the day and pointed out that no other building except a temple of Apollo was more suitable for the 'morning side' of the park.⁴⁰⁸ The design for the aviary in the form of a partly ruined temple published by Hirschfeld was imitated by L'vov in one of his designs.⁴⁰⁹ However, L'vov included his original version of the aviary into the project of Bezborodko's park.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ L'vov was well known for his expertise in cultivating exotic trees and plants, both in the garden in Nikolskoe and in the conservatories on his piece of land in St.Petersburg. See: A.N.Glumov. *op.cit.*, pp. 108-113. His interest in that area of horticulture is characteristic for the late eighteenth century Russian gardening practice. For instance, the Grand Duchess Maria cultivated rare species and exotic plants at Pavlovsk. In 1795, she received a large consignment of plants from Kew, sent by George III as a gift. See chapter IV, part III.

⁴⁰⁸ Hirschfeld. *op.cit.*, vol.V, pp.7-8.

In the discussion of the design for the aviary, L'vov addresses the problem of the relationship between architecture and picturesque landscape and the issue of the appropriateness of garden structures. L'vov criticises the tradition of building aviaries in the form of houses or temples ornamented with columns and sculptures, which decorate the formal gardens in Versailles and Peterhof. Although that custom goes back to antiquity and is supported by the descriptions of ancient writers, for instance Varro, L'vov suggests his own concept, which contradicts the established practice and, moreover, warns against the slavish imitation of antiquity. In his view, the most appropriate aviary in an English garden would be a ruin in the forest near a brook covered with a net, a rustic shed or trees tied over a stream. Such structures would correspond both with the character of their 'inmates' and the surrounding landscape. However, L'vov makes an exception for the aviary in Bezborodko's park, since its location on an elevated site in the centre of Moscow and in the proximity to the magnificent house would have made the rustic forms inappropriate. L'vov's design therefore represents a strictly Neo-Classical garden pavilion with the main circular hall under the cupola and side wings intended for keeping birds. The rationalistic forms of the building and its decoration with columns both in the exterior and the interior correspond with the architecture of the house. Two niches in the central part of the structure are designed for connoisseurs of the birds singing and have a curious acoustic system: the niches are connected by pipes with the places where the birds make their nests and by means of opening or closing of the pipes the listener can change the volume of the sound.

⁴⁰⁹ Hirschfeld. *op.cit.*, vol.V, p.9. L'vov's design is kept in the museum of the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg. Papka L'vova (L'vov's file). KP100/3.

The opening in the back wall of the central part of the aviary is designed to provide a 'view over the Kremlin and beyond'. That visual connection probably symbolises Bezborodko's important role in ruling the country, his close association with the Tsar and also links the park with the ensemble of the city. Since L'vov was engaged in rebuilding the Imperial Palace in the Kremlin simultaneously with designing the park of Bezborodko, that visual link also reminds one of the architect's contribution to the two major building projects in Moscow. Besides, Kazakov's rotunda in the Senate inspired by the Pantheon probably was one of the prototypes of the rotunda in the aviary.

The motif of the opening through which a distant view is observed prefigures images of the open window in early nineteenth century romantic paintings. That feature emphasises the contrast between the confined man-made space and the vastness of the world outside. For the romantics, the open window was a symbol of the desire to escape from trivial existence, an image of the infinite possibilities in the unknown.⁴¹⁰ It is probably not a coincidence that the motif of the opening is used by L'vov in the aviary where the birds are forced to live in the cage.

In his text, L'vov emphasises that 'meaningful objects' outside the park are visually included into the scenery by means of the 'optical' location of trees. No such view is illustrated in the album, however, it is possible to suggest that L'vov planned to arrange landscapes as stage sets, in which the trees serve as curtains

⁴¹⁰ Lorentz Eitner. 'The Open Window and The Storm-Tossed Boat: An Essay In The Iconography Of Romanticism'. *The Art Bulletin*. 37. 1955, pp.281-290.

framing distant perspective views. L'vov's expertise in the theory of perspective must have been instrumental in designing such scenes. Indeed he published one of the first text books on perspective in Russia in 1788.⁴¹¹ The problem of including outside views into the scenery of the park was essential for eighteenth century gardening. For instance, a special fence called 'Ha-Ha' situated in the bottom of a moat was used in France and Britain in order to ensure the visual continuity of the vistas and at the same time enclose the garden. The idea of such fences was explained by Menelaws to the students of the School of Earth Construction in Moscow and must have been known to L'vov. (See chapter IV)

Contrast was considered by eighteenth century theorists of gardening, such as Hirschfeld, as one of the major means to produce emotionally rich landscapes.⁴¹² L'vov displays his proficiency in using natural scenes to create contrasting moods in the 'morning promenade' and the area adjacent to it. From the idyllic scene of the meadow from which outside views can be observed the spectator is led by a path going through a dense forest to an enclosed valley with a pool overshadowed by ancient willows and used for swimming. That area is designed to invoke the feeling of solitude and melancholy and serves as the opposite to the 'morning promenade'.

The composition of the 'afternoon promenade' is an example of the application of painterly devices and motifs to designing garden scenery. The influence of painting is obvious in the central architectural feature of that area, which imitates

⁴¹¹ See chapter I, part I.

an ancient ruin. (Plate 146) Pictures of Italian landscapes with remains of antique buildings produced by seventeenth and eighteenth century artists may have been L'vov's inspiration in designing that scene. The works of Nicholas Poussin, Claude Joseph Vernet and Salvador Rosa were among the most well-known examples of Italian landscapes, which had much influence on garden designs, and could well have been L'vov's sources of inspiration. Bezborodko's art gallery collected with the assistance of L'vov included a Rosa, whom L'vov particularly appreciated, while twenty two Vernets decorated the Prince's bedroom.⁴¹³ L'vov is also known to have expressed his admiration for Poussin.⁴¹⁴ The practice of adopting pictorial motifs for park setting was fundamental for the development of the English style of gardening and both Delille and Hirschfeld analyse close relationship between gardening and painting.⁴¹⁵

Ruins are a wide-spread feature in English parks, they serve to satisfy the romantic sensibilities by reminding one of the lost magnificence of antiquity and the transience of the worldly life. L'vov includes that feature in the landscape in order to create the feeling of despondency, which dominates the 'afternoon promenade'. Confronted with the problem of authenticity of the ruin, he offers the reader to imagine how the spring floods destroyed the aqueduct and a part of the temple of Neptune, forming a waterfall on the entrance steps subsequently

⁴¹² C.C.L.Hirschfeld. op.cit., vol.I, p.206.

⁴¹³ N.Grigorovich. op.cit., vol.II, p.338.

⁴¹⁴ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.52.

⁴¹⁵ See, for instance, an analysis of the method used by Poussin to create contrasting moods in a landscape in: Delille. op.cit, p.74.

used for a mill. This description can just as well be applied to numerous landscape paintings of the period.

L'vov's intended use of the effects of the sunshine and the interplay of light and shade also has much in common with painting. For instance, he plans to lay out paths in the shade but to open them up to the views of the open spaces, so that it is possible to observe transformations of the sunshine on the meadow and waters. Thus painting provides L'vov with the means and motifs to create picturesque and emotionally rich garden scenery.

Following the advice of Hirschfeld L'vov designs the 'afternoon promenade' as a retreat from the heat of the sun and uses shade and water to create freshness. The sound of the falling water enlivens the quietude of the landscape.

Running water is a convenient medium for creating movement which is one of the major characteristics of English gardens. Both Delille and Hirschfeld pointed out the importance of movement in the picturesque landscape. The word 'movement' is stressed by L'vov throughout his text and its French version also includes a quotation from Delille, which hails movement in the garden as a tool for awakening the spirit from the lethargy. One of L'vov's notes on a margin of Hirschfeld's treatise describes various features, which produce movement in the garden: they include water, ships, wind, herds, peasants working in the fields, mills, smoke, etc.

The 'evening promenade' designed for public entertainment is the largest part of the park. The need to organise the movement and distribution of large crowds of people must have been one of the reasons for L'vov to adopt features of the regular style for the 'evening promenade'. As with the 'upper monument' designed to correspond with the architecture of the house, the public area of the park is laid out in the formal style and thus becomes a part of the city, to which it is connected with two separate entrances linked by an avenue. (Plate 147)

The importance of the public area is emphasised by the fact that the design for its main entrance is duplicated on the cover of the album. It is planned as a square surrounded from one side with a semicircular colonnade containing shops, which sell sweets, fruit and haberdashery. (Plate 148) There is a particularly inviting feeling in the concave form of the square: in Palladio's architectural language it can be likened to the embracing arms welcoming a visitor to the park. A source of purified water is generously provided free of charge by Bezborodko and is also located at that entrance.

The wide and straight avenue well suited for the accommodation of a large number of people intersects the park and leads to a cafe near the second entrance. The cafe is designed as a Turkish kiosk and offers refreshments, sweets and ice cream. (Plate 149) A large room in the centre of that building is designed as a dancing hall; from a luxurious private apartment decorated in the Turkish taste one can see the dancing hall through a veil of falling water. The main function of the buildings at the entrances is to create the festive mood, suitable for the carnivals and fetes held in the park.

The style of the structure is an allusion to one of the major themes of Bezbordko's park: the glorification of Russian victories in the wars with Turkey. This is a rare example of L'vov's deviation from the tradition of European architecture. L'vov was unimpressed with exotic styles: for instance, he included into the French text of his essay lines from Delille, who condemned thoughtless mixture of structures imitating Greek, Roman, Chinese and Arab buildings in one garden:

No more of these edifices that thrive with the fashions:
Obelisks, Rotundas, Pavilions and Pagodas.
These Roman, Greek, Arabian or Chinese Buildings
Are architectural chaos with no aim or taste.
The profusion of such buildings is full of sterile fertility,
And shuts up in a garden the four corners of the world...
And prevents movement: without it, without its magic,
The idle spirit falls into lethargy.

One of L'vov's most original ideas embodied in the concept of the park is his intention to reconstruct antique forms of public entertainment. Two large lakes are situated in the core of the composition of that area of the park. One of them is called the Naumachia or the arena for naval games which is modelled on antique examples, for instance, the Naumachia in Rome, indicated on the reconstruction plan of the city produced by Pirro Ligorio, the Coliseum, which was also used for staging naval battles, or the theatre of Marcellus.⁴¹⁶ L'vov could also have been inspired by the Cirque du Naumachie in the Park du Monceau, laid out in Paris

⁴¹⁶ A part of Ligorio's plan with the Naumachia is reproduced in: John Dixon Hunt. William Kent. Landscape Garden Designer. London: A.Zwemmer Ltd. 1987, p.16.

by Louis Carrogis Carmontelle for Duc de Chartre from 1773 until 1778. The diary of his friend Ivan Hemnitser mentions 'olimpic games', which he and L'vov saw in that park in 1777.⁴¹⁷ An elongated pond designed by Quarenghi for the park of Bezborodko in St.Petersburg may also have been among L'vov's sources of inspiration.⁴¹⁸

The design and the function of the Naumachia has much in common with theatre. (Plate 150) L'vov intends to build a semicircular platform with seats for spectators in the originally rectangular basin and the two remaining sections of the lake behind it are to be used as harbours for the ships. The Naumachia is analogous to an amphitheatre, a widespread motif in seventeenth and eighteenth century garden designs in France and England, which emphasises the close relationship between stage plays and garden entertainment.

The programme of the park dedicated to eulogising the Russian military victories suggests that the naval battles of the Russo-Turkish wars could well have been re-enacted in L'vov's Naumachia. The 'architectural theatre' designed by Bazhenov and Kazakov on the Khodynka field with ships sailing on the miniature Black sea was a prototype of such productions.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ N.A.Evsina. op.cit., p. 142.

⁴¹⁸ Quarenghi's design is kept in the Biblioteca Civica in Bergamo (A-16). It is illustrated in Giacomo Quarenghi a cura di Sandro Angelini testo di Vladimir Piliavskij catalogo di Vanni Zanella. Edizione promossa dal Credito Bergamasso. Monumenta Bergomensia. LXVII 1984, plate 361, cat.24.

⁴¹⁹ F. Razumovskii. op.cit., p.54.

Similar types of entertainment became a characteristic feature in Russian gardens. For instance, L'vov himself participated in the preparation of naval games at the park of Alexandrova near Pavlovsk at the beginning of the 1780s. He is known to have received a ring from the Empress in 1782 for producing 'very beautiful ships' for that estate, situated on the banks of a lake formed by the river Tyzva.

The idea of the theatrical representations planned for Bezborodko's park was probably influenced by the performances organised in Gatchina and Pavlovsk for Paul I. According to a letter of Rogerson to the brothers Vorontsov, L'vov organised fetes and certain 'surprises' at Pavlovsk in the summer 1798.⁴²⁰ L'vov's must have seen the mock naval combats, which were staged as a part of military exercises in Gatchina and supervised by Paul. A fleet of twenty four vessels was used to represent battles, which included boarding the 'enemy' ships and landing troops. Such performances might have inspired L'vov to design a small pool called the Naumachia for the park in Gatchina executed from 1797 until 1799.

In fact, in the park in Gatchina, L'vov formulated the ideas, which he subsequently developed in the design for Bezborodko's park. A ruined temple supposedly damaged by the water of a stream was erected near the Naumachia; it represented a predecessor of the ruin in the 'afternoon promenade'. The amphitheatre designed by L'vov for equestrian exercises is an arena surrounded

⁴²⁰ The letter dates from summer 1798. Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova, vol.30, Moscow, 1884, p.101.

with earthen mound with a stone bench on top of it. Originally L'vov intended to decorate it with topiary, statues and vases, that remind one of the design for the Naumachia in Bezborodko's park.⁴²¹

L'vov ridicules the Dutch tradition of cutting trees in order to give them unnatural shapes, however, his idea to design the 'evening promenade' in the formal style justifies the use of the topiary. The topiary serves as a convenient substitute for architectural forms, which in L'vov's view would have 'overloaded' the design. It is significant that L'vov introduces sculpture in the formal parts of the park, while the 'morning' and 'afternoon promenades' are designed to resemble pictures and have no statues. This is another example of the application of the idea of contrast, central to L'vov's concept of the park.

On the corners opposite the podium of the Naumachia, two rostrum columns are situated, on which fire is set to illuminate night performances. Besides, L'vov intended to use the Naumachia for fireworks and night illuminations, thereby completing 'around the clock' use of the park. The basin also serves for sailing in gondolas in the summer and skating in the winter.

The elongated lake called Likea is designed for boat racing and decorated with trophies symbolising naval victories. The names of the victors and the dates of

⁴²¹ The ruined temple and the Naumachia in Gatchina have not survived, however, the amphitheatre is extant. V.Makarov, A.Petrov. op.cit., pp.51, 56.

the victories are inscribed on the pedestals.⁴²² The idea to use such motifs is derived from the park at Tsarskoe Selo decorated with monuments dedicated to Russian victories in the wars against Turkey. One of them called the Chesme column stands in the lake in the garden in Tsarskoe Selo. The column was built by Antonio Rinaldi and decorated with commemorative plaques describing the battle. The Hippodrome, which surrounds the Likea, serves for weekly competitions of young people. The Hippodrome is probably a transformation of the idea of the amphitheatre in Gatchina.

The stretch of land between the two basins is decorated with a triumphal arch (Plate 151) combined with a temple dedicated to the victors on land and sea, who are represented accordingly by the bust of Count Piotr Rumiantsev-Zadunaiskii, the hero of the battle of Kagul of 1770,⁴²³ and the admiral Samuel Greig, a Scot responsible for the reorganisation of the Russian navy. L'vov's idea was to allow the athletes to pass through the arch before the commencement of the tournaments and to pay homage to the Russian military glory.

It is possible to suggest that the design for the park of Bezborodko is a tribute to the garden in Tsarskoe Selo, which was neglected during the reign of Paul. For instance, the Emperor ordered that a number of garden sculptures and decorative

⁴²² L'vov did not specify the names, however, he must have thought of Count Piotr Rumiantsev, general Piotr Panin, Prince Grigorii Potemkin, field-marshal Alexander Suvorov, the brothers Orlov, admiral Spiridov, etc. who were the commanders in the Russian army and navy during the wars against Turkey.

materials prepared for the Palace to be transferred to his residences, such as Pavlovsk and Mikhailovskii Castle. The desolation of the garden in Tsarskoe Selo is mourned by Derzhavin in the poem 'The Ruins' of 1797, in which he pictures the Empress, concealed under the image of Venus, during her walks in the garden in the morning and the afternoon and describes its decorations, for instance, the cool grotto for the afternoon repose, the swimming pool, the theatre, the 'Asian' pavilion for entertainment, sailing on the lakes and the monuments to the heroes and victories.⁴²⁴ All those motifs are found in the design for Bezborodko's park. L'vov could well have read that poem and shared the feelings expressed by his friend. The allusions to both Gatchina and Tsarskoe Selo are linked with the biography of Bezborodko, who was patronised by both monarchs: he flourished under Catherine and was also indispensable for Paul at the beginning of his reign.

The statues of the Naumachia, the trophies of the Likea and the temple of the victors form a 'patriotic Pantheon', in which the history of the century is represented in the monuments to national heroes. L'vov also combines the function of public entertainment and education, effectively using Horace's famous advice to mix the useful with the pleasant.⁴²⁵ The idea that the arts can enlighten people and instruct the young generation was frequently elaborated

⁴²³ After that crucial battle in which the Turkish army of 150,000 was routed by the Russian force of 25,000 the territory between the rivers Danube and Dniestr was opened to Russian advance.

⁴²⁴ G.R.Derzhavin. Stikhotvoreniia. (Verses). Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel'. 1957, pp.261-264, 428.

⁴²⁵ Horace. The Art of Poetry. Line 343.

upon in Russia during the eighteenth century. For instance, Dmitrii Golitsyn, Russian envoy to France and the Netherlands, wrote under the influence of his acquaintance Denis Diderot a treatise 'On the Usefulness, Glory, etc. of the Arts' ('O pol'ze, slave I proch. khudozhestv), in which he emphasised the connection between the state and the arts and pointed out their educative value. His manuscript was read at the meeting of the Academy of Arts in 1766 and the ideas expressed in it had wide circulation in Russian art circles.⁴²⁶ The characteristic example of the use of architecture and gardening for the purposes of education is the park at Alexandrova, which was designed to demonstrate the way to virtue to the young Grand Dukes, who as Dzhunkovskii put it 'liked to see pleasure combined with instruction'.⁴²⁷

L'vov's intention to commemorate the triumphs of the eighteenth century in the park of Bezborodko suggests that he viewed that period as crucial for Russian history and unified by the successive efforts of the monarchs to fulfil the major task of the aggrandisement of the Empire. Peter the Great at the beginning of the century formulated the objectives, which dominated Russian foreign policy for the next hundred years and further into nineteenth century. The wars waged by Peter in the south against the Turks and in the west were continued by Elizabeth, Catherine and Paul, all of whom declared their allegiance to the policies elaborated by the first Russian Emperor. The idea to liberate Constantinople from the Turks was apparently appropriated by Paul, who despite his claims to stop Russian expansion as unprofitable for the nation, did approve of Alexander

⁴²⁶ N.A.Evsina. op.cit., pp.68-70.

Rostopchin's concept of revitalising the 'Greek Project', in which a new war with Turkey was envisaged.⁴²⁸ The liberation of Constantinople would have paved the way to the ultimate crusade aimed at establishing the rule of the Christians in Jerusalem. Paul believed his mission was to lead the Christian civilisation in the holy war. In this light, his decision to become the grand master of the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem in 1798, who descended from Medieval crusaders, seems logical. It has recently been suggested that the Mikhailovskii castle in St. Petersburg erected to the designs by Bazhenov and Brenna was to become the headquarters and the starting point of the assault of the Christian armies against the Muslims.⁴²⁹

The complex of the public area in Bezborodko's park has direct relation to that political programme. The Pantheon of heroes and the theatrical productions in the Naumachia would have been a potent propaganda tool for disseminating the militaristic ideas among the people, the Likea and the Hippodrome would have served for the preparation of the young generation for the forthcoming battles and the triumphal arch situated in the centre of the public area is probably designed in anticipation of the victorious troops returning from the envisaged wars.

The glorification of the messianic role of the Russian people and the Russian military might are recurrent topics in L'vov's poetry at the turn of the centuries, for instance, in the poems entitled 'Soldier's song on the capture of Warsaw',

⁴²⁷ S. Dzhunkovskii. op.cit. The dedication to Catherine II.

⁴²⁸ Roderick E. McGrew. op.cit., p.315.

⁴²⁹ Sergei Kuznetsov. Neizvestnyi Levitskii. op.cit, p.122.

dedicated to general Alexander Suvorov's campaign of 1794, 'The new nineteenth century in Russia' and 'People's exclamation on coming of the new century'. L'vov expresses his belief that divine power chose the Russians to dominate 'a half of the world', hails the unity of the Russians and their commitment to public good and considers the achievements of eighteenth century as the threshold of the new golden age. Similarly, in the ode dedicated to the new year of 1795 written during the capture of Warsaw and sent to Count Bezborodko, L'vov eulogises the Empress as the master of the seas.⁴³⁰ All these ideas found their embodiment in the design for Bezborodko's park.

The park of Bezborodko and the Kremlin are visually connected and in combination remind one of the Roman Fora, which along with the Coliseum commemorated military victories, provided a venue for public entertainment, formed the religious centre, accommodated the Senate and the Palaces of the Emperors. In Moscow, the Governing Senate, the Imperial Palace and the Cathedrals in the Kremlin, according to L'vov's concept, are to be complemented by the structures in the park of Bezborodko. Thus the reconstruction of the image of Rome would have been completed.

L'vov's concept of the public area of the park of Bezborodko is similar to the project for the Academies published by Marie-Joseph Peyre in the Oeuvres d'architecture in 1765 and reprinted in 1795. That volume which laid the foundation of French Neo-Classicism may have been known to L'vov. The

⁴³⁰ N.A.L'vov. Izbrannye sochineniia. op.cit., pp.43-46, 54-55, 82-83.

design for the Academies is Roman in inspiration and based upon the architect's study of the Palace of the Emperors, the villa of Hadrian and the Baths of Diocletian, Caracalla and Titus which he considered the most magnificent buildings constructed by Roman Emperors.⁴³¹ Peyre pointed out that he attempted to combine in his project what contributes to instructing the mind and training the body.⁴³² The largest parts of the complex were allocated for a Naumachia and a venue for military exercises with an amphitheatre, the project also included theatres, Academies of Arts and Sciences, a library and other public institutions. However, Peyre's Academies conceived on a megalomaniac scale represent a conceptual experiment rather than a design intended for execution. In contrast, L'vov produced his project for a particular client, he planned to use the peculiarities of the site in landscaping the park and to connect the ensemble with the surrounding cityscape.

Peyre's design for Academies was a source of inspiration for a number of works of John Soane. The curving colonnades, the drum surrounded with columns and the pavilions decorated with domes and porticoes in Soane's design for the triumphal bridge, which won the gold medal at the Royal Academy competition in 1776, were borrowed from the Academy complex. Soane subsequently continued to adapt ideas from that design, for instance, the colonnades and the forms of the rooms in the design for the British senate house and the cruciform shape of the castello d'acqua, both produced during his Italian sojourn, were

⁴³¹ Allan Braham. *op.cit.*, pp.83-85.

⁴³² Marie-Joseph Peyre. Oeuvres d'architecture. Paris, 1765. Published in 1967 by Gregg Press Limited. 1 Westmead, Farnborough, Hants., England.

appropriated from Peyre. Soane's choice of the Oeuvres d'architecture as one of his major sources of inspiration has been praised as a testimony to his ability to go beyond the obvious well-known publications, for instance those of Palladio and Piranesi,⁴³³ while L'vov's possible use of Peyre's design characterises him as a non-conformist artist, ready to introduce new ideas into Russian architecture.

L'vov's idea to celebrate the personality of Bezborodko by connecting his fame to the image of the late Empress and by linking his career with the achievements of the whole nation united in the pursuit of the military glory finds a close parallel in the concept of the Palace and park at Blenheim, Oxfordshire. The estate was presented to John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, in 1705 by the Queen Anne and nation as a reward for his crucial contribution to British victory in the war of the Spanish Succession. The Palace and the park were conceived by Sir John Vanbrugh not just as a private habitation for the Duke but most importantly as a political and military monument: it was 'at the Same time by all the World esteemed and looked on as a Publick Edifice, raised for a Monument of the Queen's Glory through his great Genius'.⁴³⁴ The grandiose scale and richness of decoration of the Palace full of allegorical allusions to British glorious victories combined with commemorative features in the park, such as the Column of Victory with the Acts of Parliament in the Duke's favour and a eulogy of his personality inscribed on the pedestal, make Blenheim one of the most spectacular expressions of the political ideas in architecture and gardening of the eighteenth century. Contemporary responses fully demonstrate a

⁴³³ Pierre du Prey. op.cit., p.80.

great impact produced by the ensemble, for instance, Daniel Defoe wrote in his Tour of Britain:

‘The magnificence of the building does not here, as at Canons, at Chatsworth, and at other Palaces of the nobility, express the genius and opulence of the possessor, but it represents the bounty, the gratitude, or what else posterity pleases to call it, of the English nation, to the man they delighted to honour. Posterity when they view in this house the trophies of the Duke of Marlborough’s fame, and the glories of his great achievements will not celebrate his name only; but will look on Blenheim House, as a monument of the general temper of the English nation; who in so glorious a manner rewarded the services of those who acted for them as his did. Nor can any nation in Europe show the like munificence to any general, no not the greatest in the world’.⁴³⁵

Both Blenheim and Bezborodko’s residence were designed to emulate Versailles. L’vov’s use of the formal style in the park of Bezborodko coincides with the revival of the fashion for regular parks during the reign of Paul I. For instance, the area adjacent to the Grand Palace at Gatchina was redesigned possibly by Bazhenov during the 1790s to include straight promenades, water basin of geometric outline and other motifs typical for regular gardens.⁴³⁶ The Tsar’s taste for formal gardening probably reflected his idea of reinforcing strict discipline and organisation of all spheres of life in Russia. The regular gardens in Versailles and Chantilly which Paul visited in 1782, were among the models for designing the park in Gatchina: for instance, a number of structures in Prince Condé’s

⁴³⁴ Quoted in: Kerry Downes. Vanbrugh. London: A.Zwemmer Ltd. 1977, p.58.

⁴³⁵ Quoted in: Madeleine Bingham. Masks & Facades. Sir John Vanbrugh. The Man in his Setting. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1974, pp.162-163.

⁴³⁶ The copies of the original designs are kept in the ‘Kushelev album’ in Gatchina Palace Museum. Department of graphics. GDM 1/XI.

estate of Chantilly, such as fortifications on the Connetable square, the stables and the pavilion of Venus were reproduced in Gatchina. The political alliance and personal friendship between Paul and Condé must have been the reason for Paul to imitate Chantilly in the design of his main suburban residence: indeed, Condé became the head of the army of French emigrants in Russia and was named by Paul the grand prior of the Russian grand priory of the Maltese order.

French gardens, particularly Le Nôtre's layouts in Versailles, were probably L'vov's major sources of inspiration in producing the design for the public area of Bezborodko's park. L'vov examined Versailles during his visit to Paris in 1777 and must have read about that and other French formal gardens in the books by Delille and Hirschfeld. The straight avenue and the ponds of geometric outlines are the most conspicuous features derived from the regular gardens. However, contrary to the principles of Le Nôtre, L'vov does not introduce the main axis, which would intersect the centre of the house and divide the layout of the park into two parts. L'vov uses the symmetry in order to introduce some visual uniformity in the design, while retaining the variety of details.

The idea to open the park of a private person for the public is unusual for European gardening of the eighteenth century, although the concept of the public garden had been fairly wide-spread. In England, the gardens of Vauxhall with various attractions were open to the public, however, the chief aim of Vauxhall owners was to make profit from the entry fees rather than to provide a communal centre, which in L'vov's design included the shops, the promenade, the cafe, the theatre, the dancing hall, the stadium and the museum. Public promenades and

gardens in cities are described by Hirschfeld, who recommended to use symmetrical arrangements in their layouts and decorate them with effigies of prominent people.⁴³⁷ The summer gardens in St.Petersburg designed by the order of Peter the Great served educative purpose: the visitors to the gardens became acquainted with Western European culture by looking at sculptures imported from Italy.

However, the main source of inspiration for L'vov probably was Bazhenov's unrealised design for the rebuilding of the Kremlin, in which the idea of the union between the authorities and the people was embodied. One of Bazhenov's innovative ideas was to lay out a square in the Kremlin, which was to become the focusing point for the main streets of Moscow and serve as the public forum. Both Bazhenov's and L'vov's projects are expressions of the ideal of a harmonious society, based on the Rousseau's concept of the social contract and inspired by the examples of ancient Rome and Athens.

A peculiar sense of community, characteristic of Moscow may have facilitated the formulation of the concept of the unity of private and public interest. The writer Nikolai Karamzin, L'vov's younger contemporary, pointed out that 'since the time of Catherine the Great Moscow was known as a Republic'.⁴³⁸ Noble society enjoyed comparatively more liberty in the old Russian capital than in St.Petersburg: public affairs were freely discussed in the assemblies and drawing

⁴³⁷ C.C.L.Hirschfeld. op.cit., vol.I, p.163; vol.V, pp. 72-76.

⁴³⁸ F. Razumovskii. op.cit., p.52.

rooms. Karamzin also mentions 'the voice of the people', which was more pronounced in Moscow.

Further, the concept of 'the republican monarchy' was elaborated by Rousseau and adopted by progressive Russian thinkers, such as Alexander Radishchev, who based his theory of the new political order in Russia on that notion. Catherine herself gave Russian intellectuals the impetus to develop the 'republican' ideas by pointing out the necessity of the mutual responsibility of the sovereign and his/her subjects. The Empress also stated in her Nakaz (Instruction) that 'a monarch <...> must work for the common good, for what is the reason for the autocracy? It is not to take the natural liberty from the people, but to direct their activities towards acquiring the most of the common good.'⁴³⁹ L'vov's privileged position in Russian intellectual society suggests that he took those political discussions into account while designing the public area of the park of Bezborodko.

However, the 'republicanism' expressed in the designs by Bazhenov and L'vov may have been one of the reasons for them having been left on paper. Indeed, Bezborodko in his letters never made any reference to the public area of his park, which is the most innovative part of L'vov's project. For instance, Bezborodko mentions only the proposed 'regular garden near the house and English garden

⁴³⁹ Quoted in: Yurii M. Lotman. 'Priroda gosudarstvennosti v teorii Prosveshcheniia'. ('The Nature of the Statehood in the Theory of the Enlightenment'). Iz istorii russkoi kul'tury. (Vosemnadtsatyi - nachalo deviatnadsatogo veka). (From the History of Russian Culture. (The Eighteenth - Early Nineteenth Century)). vol. IV. Moscow: Shkola 'Yazyki russkoi kul'tury'. 1996, pp.66-67.

below' in a letter to Semion Vorontsov of 26 of May 1798.⁴⁴⁰ Perhaps, Bezborodko was eager to play the role of new Maecenas and have his park open for his protégés, but L'vov's idea to give access to his property to the people seemed too revolutionary for the Prince. Such an attitude is a characteristic example of the ambiguity and contradiction of the Russian ruling elite towards reforming the society: innovative ideas were elaborated in theory, but rarely implemented in practice. It is possible to suggest that if Bezborodko had lived to see L'vov's designs executed, he would not have been allowed to implement the whole programme of the public area of the park, since the general atmosphere of Paul's reign was hostile to such democratic innovations.

L'vov's project is a unique exercise in the theory of gardening in eighteenth century Russia. The idea to combine in one album the highly informative essay written both in French and Russian and the illustrations of professional quality suggests that L'vov considered his work as a manifesto, not dissimilar to his designs for St. Joseph's. Comparison of the project for Bezborodko's park and work of Andrei Bolotov, the leading Russian garden theorist of eighteenth century, emphasises the innovative character of L'vov's ideas.

Bolotov contributed to the development of the theory of gardening in Russia by translating Hirschfeld's treatise and publishing it in the form of numerous articles in Ekonomicheskii magazin (The Economic Magazine) during the 1780s. In other writings, Bolotov described in detail his practical experience of laying out

⁴⁴⁰ G.G.Grimm. 'Proekt parka Bezborodko v Moskve. op.cit., p.107. Bezborodko is not known to have mentioned L'vov's name in connection with the design for his park.

gardens in his own estate of Dvorianinovo and in the town of Bogoroditsk, situated in Tula region south of Moscow. His major purpose was to provide gentry of moderate means, who did not normally hire professional gardeners, with information on various spheres of horticulture. Bolotov was essentially a provincial personage, that is reflected both in the meticulous manner of his writings and the naiveté of the style of his watercolours recording his works in the park adjacent to Catherine the Great's residence in Bogoroditsk: these brightly coloured landscapes populated with somewhat clumsy figures leave no doubt that Bolotov had learned the lessons of Hirschfeld, but offer little in respect of the novelty. (Plate 152) Although Bolotov expressed the need to create a type of the Russian garden, as distinct from both the dominant English or French styles, his main contribution to the solution of that problem was the idea to use the local species of trees in gardens.⁴⁴¹

In contrast, L'vov's project is a work of the writer and the gardener of European significance. L'vov summarised the experience of Western gardening and transformed it in order to express the programme, which glorified Russia. Stylistically, L'vov combined the features of both French and English parks and accordingly called himself both 'garden architect' and 'painter' or 'artist' (*khudozhnik*). He attempted to include in the design 'a small number of important parts<...>, to interrupt uniformity by contrast, to connect contrasting motifs with harmony and paths <...>'. L'vov pointed out that 'all garden

⁴⁴¹ For more information on Bolotov see: Margrethe Floryan. Gardens of the Tsars. A Study of the Aesthetics, Semantics and Uses of Late eighteenth Century Russian Gardens. Aarhus University Press, 1996, pp.56-70.

structures (which are few) decorate such places, where they are as necessary as they are beautiful'. The programme of the park developed the historical concept of Moscow as the Third Rome and reflected the 'republican' character peculiar to the city. The original idea to recreate the ancient forms of public entertainment as a part of the 'Moscow Forum' was L'vov's remarkable contribution to the development of the garden theory in Russia.

CHAPTER IV

EARTH CONSTRUCTION IN RUSSIA: A SCOTTISH CONNECTION

PART I

THE INTRODUCTION OF PISE

Earth, contrary to popular belief, was one of the most widespread building materials in Scottish architecture. A recent study produced by Historic Scotland demonstrates that ‘during the greater part of Scottish history earth construction was predominant’ and various methods of building in turf, mud and clay were evolved. In addition to traditional practices, the technique of rammed earth or pisé was brought from France at the end of eighteenth century.⁴⁴²

Simultaneously, L’vov assisted by Adam Menelaws, John Cochrane and David Cunningham undertook a large scale project of developing pisé construction. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the co-operation between L’vov and his Scottish associates in designing and constructing earth buildings in Russia.

The technique of pisé was popularised by a French innovative architect and inventor Francois Cointeraux in his books published from the 1790s.⁴⁴³ He

⁴⁴² Bruce Walker et al. op.cit., p.60-67. I am grateful to Dr.Bruce Walker for his advice on the history and the techniques of earth construction in Scotland.

⁴⁴³ The following French publications by Francois Cointeraux kept in the British Library were used in preparation of this chapter: École d’architecture rurale et économique. (A project of the formation of a school of rural architecture). Paris, 1790; École d’architecture rurale. Paris, 1791; Traité sur la construction des manufactures, et des maisons de campagne, etc. Paris, 1791. Cointeraux published over fifty works on pisé in the course of twenty two years. See: Down to Earth. Mud Architecture: an old idea, a new future. Based on an exhibition at the Centre Georges Pompidou, conceived and directed by Jean Dethier. London: Thames and Hudson. 1982, p.9.

studied the vernacular manner of building with rammed earth in the Rhone valley, refined and formalised the process, re-designed the tools, and then promoted his version of it as an ideal building material for all purposes. The rise of interest in pisé was provoked by the questions posed for competitions by the Academy of Amiens in 1784 and subsequently by the French Royal Society of Architecture, which inquired about simple and cheap ways of building fireproof rural structures, such as houses, granaries and barns.⁴⁴⁴ Cointeraux's design for a large farm of pisé was favourably received at a meeting of the French Royal Society of Architecture in December 1789.

The beginning of the true popularity of the architect coincided with the Revolution, since he was able to adapt his concept to the new populist ideology stressing in particular that building of pisé was the best way to provide healthy and warm accommodation for poor families. Cointeraux proposed to the National Assembly and the government the project of a school of earth construction. The school planned by Cointeraux was to be the practical training centre for citizens sent from each département of the country. After completing the course, they should have disseminated their knowledge throughout France. The school was to exist on the minimal state support: the architect requested no funds, but only materials and a few workers. In fact, Cointeraux succeeded in organizing the schools in Grenoble and in Paris, in which model structures, such as walls and houses were built. The architect also experimented with earth blocks of various

⁴⁴⁴ Francois Cointeraux. École d'architecture rurale et économique. op.cit.

shapes and planned to use them in making vaults, building colonnades, pyramids and chapels.

Cointeraux's concept of pisé was a product of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Rousseau's influence is evident in the architect's theory of the 'natural' origin of that building material, for instance, he pointed out the similarity between the process of the formation of the earth's crust by means of compression and the making of rammed earth blocks. In his view pisé was an invention of "the Creator", which the men should adopt and improve by means of the art. One of Cointeraux's arguments, particularly significant for the late eighteenth century view of the world, was the reference to the primeval people, who lived in earth dwellings. Indeed modern research demonstrates that mud architecture is widespread in primitive societies, while archeological data indicates that the Tower of Babel, the world's first skyscraper reaching the height of 90 meters, was constructed of unbaked earth.⁴⁴⁵

The Biblical reference was no doubt important for the notion of pisé architecture. For instance, the message of God to Adam in chapter three of Genesis may have added weight to idea of earth buildings as the most suitable habitations for people:

You return to the ground,
since from it you were taken;
for dust you are

⁴⁴⁵ Down to Earth. op.cit., p.7. Genesis, chapter 11:

They said to each other, 'Come, let's make bricks and bake them thoroughly. They used brick instead of stone, and bitumen for mortar.'

and to dust you will return.

Gavriil Derzhavin's humorous verse dedicated to L'vov echoes this prophecy:
Khot' vziat on iz zemli i v zemliu on poidiot,

No v zdaniakh zemlianykh on vechno prozhiviot.⁴⁴⁶

(Although he was taken from the ground and will return to it, he will live forever in earth buildings.)

The universal significance of pisé was emphasised by Cointeraux in the manifesto entitled 'To the peoples of all countries', in which he advertised earth structures as a solution to housing problems and stressed that considerable savings and profits can be made by capitalists out of pisé.⁴⁴⁷

Thanks to the publications of Cointeraux the notion of pisé spread through Europe during the 1790s and the early nineteenth century. In England, John Plaw illustrated a pisé lodge and referred to Cointeraux in his book entitled Fermé Ornée in 1795. Henry Holland gave an abstract of Cointeraux's publications in an appendix to volume I of Communications to the Board of Agriculture in 1797 and supervised an extensive experiment of building earth cottages and service structures at Woburn under the fifth Duke of Bedford. From the beginning, the earth houses were associated with the 'rustic' style: for instance, Holland's pisé cottages at Southhill built for Samuel Whitbread were thatched, and unsawn fir logs were used for roof joists.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Quoted in: N.I.Nikulina. Nikolai L'vov. op.cit., p. 115.

⁴⁴⁷ Francois Cointeraux. École d'architecture rurale. Second cahier. Paris, 1791, pp.1-3.

⁴⁴⁸ John Martin Robinson. Georgian Model Farms. op.cit., pp.52-56.

It has recently been suggested that the first publication on pisé which was likely to have influenced Scottish architecture was the description of the process of erecting earth walls in Cours Complet d'Agriculture, Therique, Pratique, Economique et de Medecine Rurale et Veterinaire, suivi d'une Methode pour etudier L'Agriculture par Principes: ou Dictionnaire Universel d'Agriculture... of 1786.⁴⁴⁹ However, the indigenous tradition of mud building in Scotland is particularly relevant to this discussion and will be considered below.

The techniques of mud and pisé building were brought by European emigrants to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States. Not only did earth architecture reached significant popularity in those countries, but it is nowadays being revived as an environmentally friendly alternative to more common building materials.

The use of pisé also spread in the countries of central Europe, such as Germany, Poland, Hungary and Rumania. For example, during the nineteenth century, the German architect Wimpf built a house of six storeys in the town of Weilburg, south-west Germany, which survives in perfect condition, and a factory inspired by Cointeraux's project was published in 1790.⁴⁵⁰ It was a German edition of

⁴⁴⁹ Bruce Walker et al. op.cit., pp.60-64. The research into pisé architecture in eighteenth century Scotland is in its initial stages and so far no extant pisé buildings of that period have been discovered.

⁴⁵⁰ Down to Earth. op.cit., p.148.

Cointeraux's School of Rural Architecture that was translated into Russian by Alexander Barsov in 1794, just three years after its first publication in French.⁴⁵¹

L'vov admitted the influence of Cointeraux on his experiments with earth construction. He borrowed a French edition of Cointeraux from Prince Nikolai Borisovich Iusupov and was certainly acquainted with the Russian translation of that work. In 1797, L'vov wrote in his advertisement of the new method of building published in 'Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti', the central St.Petersburg newspaper: 'having arrived in St.Petersburg in 1796, K.N.B.Iu. lent me a French book of Mr.Cointeraux on earth construction, which considerably supported my experiments'.⁴⁵²

In this article, L'vov described his project of introducing pisé in Russia. Following the idea of Cointeraux, L'vov stressed the ancient origin of that building material. L'vov pointed out that he first encountered houses made of compressed earth during his travel through Spain in 1777. He noted the strength and longevity of those structures, some of which he believed had been inhabited for 2000 years, from the time of Hannibal.

⁴⁵¹ Shkola derevenskoi arkhitektury, ili nastavlenie, kak stroit' prochnye domy o mnogikh zhiliakh iz odnoi tol'ko zemli, ili iz drugikh obyknovennykh i deshiovykh materialov. (The School of Rural Architecture, Or The Instruction How To Build Solid Houses Of Many Apartments Entirely From Earth, Or From Other Ordinary And Cheap Materials). Translated by Alexander Barsov. Moscow, 1794.

⁴⁵² Appendix to 'Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti', N82, Tuesday, 13th October, 1797, p.4.

However, L'vov contrasted the progressive method of pisé and the vernacular technique of mud construction (mazanki) practised in southern provinces of Russia, which in his opinion was only good enough to provide 'a poor structure, a sickly refuge of idleness and ignorance'. In a similar manner he favourably compared pisé with traditional West European building techniques, such as half-timbering, French torchis and German Weller-Arbeit, which lacked durability due to the additions of straw, wood and other perishable materials into the walls.

In that article, L'vov did not give any detailed descriptions of the process of erecting pisé walls, but instead tried to persuade landowners to send their serfs to the school of earth construction in his estate Nikolskoe, where they would be given practical instructions. Thus it is possible to suggest that under the influence of Cointeraux L'vov attempted to establish a commercially run institution.

L'vov emphasised that pisé was developed in order to provide peasants and poor landowners with cheap, fireproof and reliable building material. According to him, pisé was particularly suitable for houses of one and a half and two storeys, conservatories, workshops, peasants cottages, granaries, barns, cattle yards and fences.

The first pisé house was completed by L'vov in Nikolskoe in 1793. The building proved to be comfortable for living due to its resistance to dampness, heat and

frost. The walls of the building were 40 cm thick and withstood the elements equally well both before and after they were plastered.⁴⁵³

A number of sketches of rural buildings drawn on the reverse side of the engravings in the Gatchina album illustrate the designs for the types of structures, which were used for pisé buildings. For example, the drawing under the heading 'Super NB 1788' represents both the plan and a perspective view of a farm. (Plate 153) The composition of the main structure displays the influence of the Palladian country house model. The symmetry of the plan and the facade, the emphasised two-storey central part of the main building, the protruding volumes on the sides of the front and two outbuildings joined to the back of the house remind us of the widespread type of Palladian villa in which the central block was articulated by the portico and flanked by the services.

It is possible to suggest that the design belongs to the type of 'improved' or model farms, developed in eighteenth century Britain as a response to rational reorganisation of all spheres of agriculture. The farm depicted in the Gatchina album is similar to the designs published by British architects in pattern books, such as Daniel Garret's Designs of Farm Houses, etc., 1747, William Halfpenny's Twelve Beautiful Designs for Farm Houses, 1750, and John Plaw's Rural Architecture, 1785. (Plate 154) The plan of the farm is a square with the main house in the front range, while the arrangement of buildings is regular and symmetrical. Special care was taken to make the house comfortable by separating

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

the interior of the building into rooms and providing the garden in front of it. Rustic cottages with small gardens added to them were not unusual in English 'improved' villages: by cultivating their piece of land the inhabitants of such houses could be diverted from intemperance and corrupt morals.⁴⁵⁴ The use of stacks which can be seen in the yard was advocated by British theorists, for instance Nathaniel Kent in the Hints to the gentlemen of landed property published in 1775.⁴⁵⁵ The thatched roof is one of vernacular features, which was considered acceptable for model farms. The English inscriptions, such as 'garden', 'jard' (sic) and 'aproved (sic) 1788 Novemb: 20' also indicate the British origin of the design.

The drawing obviously evolved from the sketches on the preceding pages. (Plate 155) From the beginning, the layout of the farm was rectangular and consisted of the main house with adjacent cattle-sheds and the yard. In the final version, the building in the middle of the yard behind the farm house was abandoned and instead two structures appeared opposite to the main block.

However, the drawing with the caption 'Perspective view of another cottage for two families. See Fig 3 Plat: III' was adopted from the book Picturesque and Architectural views for Cottages, Farm Houses and Country Villas published by Charles Middleton in 1793. (Plates 156, 157) Middleton's book was probably delivered to L'vov by one of his cousins, who travelled to London as a courier in

⁴⁵⁴ Nigel Temple. John Nash & The Village Picturesque. Alan Sutton, 1979, p.3.

⁴⁵⁵ Nathaniel Kent. Hints to gentlemen of landed property. London, 1775, p. 165.

February and March 1793.⁴⁵⁶ Further, Count Semion Vorontsov, the Russian ambassador in London, might have assisted in the purchase of the volume, since in the same year Nikolai L'vov was designing peasants houses for an estate of his brother Alexander Vorontsov.⁴⁵⁷

The building depicted in the Gatchina album and the house designed by Middleton have obvious similarities: both structures have one storey and an attic, their rural character is emphasised by high thatched roofs and tree trunks used as columns, while the central position of the entrance and symmetrical arrangement of the windows add classical regularity to the composition. However, the similarity between the two designs is not complete. Middleton's cottage is a garden pavilion: behind its picturesque facade, there is a Pantheon-like dining hall lit through large French windows and decorated with classical ornament. In contrast, the cottage in the Gatchina album appears to be a utilitarian structure similar to the previously examined farm of 1788. The separation of the house between two families corresponds to the advice of Nathaniel Kent, an influential British agricultural theorist, who suggested such double arrangement for the cheap cottages of farm labourers.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ Letter from Semion Romanovich Vorontsov to Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov from London of 5 February, 1793, in which a courier 'Lwow' is mentioned, *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, vol.9, Moscow, 1876, p.297. Cf. L'vov's letter to Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov of 4 April, 1793, in which the architect refers to dangers of the return journey of his brother (cousin), *Ibid*, vol.32, Moscow, 1886, p.516.

⁴⁵⁷ L'vov's letter to Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov of 30 September 1793, in which the architect inquires whether the Count received the designs of the peasants houses, Nikolai L'vov. *Izbrannye sochineniia*, *Ibid*, p.344.

⁴⁵⁸ Nathaniel Kent. *op.cit.*, p.243.

There is no evidence to suggest that L'vov spoke English or was an expert on the architecture of British farms. Both designs in his album should therefore be attributed to Adam Menelaws, who worked together with L'vov from 1785 and executed his most important architectural works. From the middle of the 1780s until 1796 Menelaws was engaged in construction of L'vov's Cathedral in Torzhok and probably also worked in Nikolskoe where he may have assisted in building earth structures. Menelaws's competence in farm architecture became manifest in his subsequent designs for the School of Agriculture organised in 1797 near Pavlovsk. Moreover, the drawings in the Gatchina album influenced pisé structures built in that School.

Significantly enough, Middleton's cottage has been transformed in Menelaws's drawing in the typically Scottish manner by means of simplifying the facade and adding the porch supported by rough wooden trunks, a traditional feature still found in Scotland. Similar one storey thatched earth structures were not unusual in eighteenth century Scotland, for instance the Schoolhouse in Cottown, near Perth, built from clay in 1745 and altered in 1766 and 1818. (Plate 158)

Earth walled buildings are located throughout the north-east, east and south-east of Scotland, in Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine, Angus, Perthshire, Stirling, East Lothian, Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Wigton and south of the border in Cumberland and Cumbria.⁴⁵⁹ The earth structures had a variety of uses ranging

⁴⁵⁹ Christopher Gratton. Clay housing in Errol. Mss. dissertation. Duncan of Jordanstone College, Dundee, 1973.

from farms to churches and from cottages to defensive peel towers in the Borders. One of the best preserved settlements consisting mainly of earth structures is Errol village situated 12 miles equidistant from Perth and Dundee. The layout of Errol, which resembles a square, and most of the clay houses date from the second half of eighteenth century. The buildings are two storeyed and usually built in terraces with separate entrances to each floor, designed as isolated dwellings. Such individual flats are normally symmetrical in plan and consist of two main rooms of the same size and a smaller service room between them. Both principal rooms have fireplaces situated in the centre of either gable wall. Such layout is characteristic for the single storey clay cottages throughout the Carse of Gowrie; it also reminds one of the design by Menelaws in the Gatchina album, for instance, the location of the chimneys at the sides of the cottage and its regular plan designed to accommodate two families.

The earth houses in Errol were built by teams of local residents and the construction generally lasted one to three days. The walls were erected on stone foundation, the earth or clay mixture was compressed in wooden or brick units and raised in 'lifts' of 600-900 mm at a time, the walls were covered with a cow-dung parging or a wet dash render, the thatched or slated roof projected free of the wall. It was rightly expected that such structures would last for 150 or 200 years.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., pp.19-25.

The widespread use of earth construction in Scotland suggests that L'vov relied on his Scottish associates in erecting pisé buildings. Several technical features employed in Scottish vernacular tradition of clay walling, such as making stone foundations, raising the walls in 'lifts' and making overhanging eaves so that the water would not damage the earth structure were similar to the method suggested by Cointeraux and used by L'vov, though the mixture of clay with straw was abandoned in favour of pure earth.

In 1798, L'vov obtained from Tsar Paul I (1796-1801) the commission to build the Barracks in Torzhok and appointed Menelaws to the position of architect of the Barracks. (Plates 159, 160) That building was to have earth walls and thatched roof.⁴⁶¹ Menelaws used Middleton's illustrations of the cottages as sources for the design for the Barracks. For example, the form of the large triangular pediment was borrowed from the first figure, the doorway flanked with two windows and decorated with a small pediment was copied from the second figure while the third figure provided the form of the roof with two semicircular windows. However, because of the opposition of the local governor the design was never realised.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ RGIA, fond 1374, opis 2, N 1301, 1798, p.16.

⁴⁶² Ignatii Teils, the governor of Tver, promoted the design of the local architect Andrei Trofimov, this ultimately being used for the building, see: The Governing Senate. The chancellery of the procuror-general. Correspondence concerning construction of soldiers barracks and stables of stone in Torzhok according to a newly produced design. RGIA, fond 1374, opis 2, N 1301. Teils's letter to the procuror-general Piotr Vasilievich Lopukhin of 25th January, 1799, p. 33, and L'vov's letter to Prokofii Mikhailovich Rukovnitsyn of 3rd March 1799, p. 77. Trofimov's simple Neo-Classical design, which is kept in RGIA, fond 1399, opis 1, N 787, has no resemblance to that produced by Menelaws. The barracks was built of stone, but has not survived.

The Tsar's patronage allowed the architect to develop his idea of earth construction on a grand scale. L'vov convinced Paul of the advantages of pisé and the potential benefit of its use in Russia particularly in rural architecture. Indeed, the new material was cheap, fireproof and easily-obtainable. The earth houses were hygienic and resistant to the vicissitudes of Russian climate. The use of earth for building was ideal in woodless regions and it could also solve the problem of the preservation of forests throughout Russia.⁴⁶³ Paul became enthusiastic about the idea of introduction of pisé in his Empire and endorsed L'vov's project of the Schools of Earth Construction in Torzhok and Moscow. This was probably both a pragmatic and political decision: Paul's major objective in the early years of his reign was to oppose the French Revolution and not to allow the spread of radical ideas in Russia, and yet he adopted the latest method of proto-industrial production of housing strongly associated with revolutionary France. The tasks entrusted to L'vov by Paul, for instance, the exploration of energy resources of the Empire, suggest that the monarch attempted to modernise Russia's economy while retaining a conservative backward-looking attitude in politics. L'vov seems to have been one of the central figures in implementing the scheme: both his projects of the introduction of earth construction and coal exploration were to be carried out throughout the Empire, while his idea to use steam engines in mining and the production of tarred roofing paper demonstrates the modernistic nature of his enterprises. His Scots associates were actively involved in implementing his plans: for instance, Walter Irving was in charge of

⁴⁶³ Appendix to 'Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti', op.cit.

coal exploration and Menelaws was entrusted to prospect for turf in Kozhukhovo and Cherkizovo in the environs of Moscow to provide the city with the alternative fuel.⁴⁶⁴

The Tsar may well have considered pisé as an improved version of the technique of mud building, widely used at the initial stage of construction of St.Petersburg. In 1711, Peter the Great himself laid the foundations for the sample mud buildings in St.Petersburg and ordered the population of city to imitate them.⁴⁶⁵ The first Twelve Colleges, or the executive power offices, designed by Domenico Trezzini before 1722 were built of the same material. Trezzini also produced the sample designs for houses, which were intended for different social classes and distributed among the population. Paul declared himself as a successor of his great grand father's undertakings; certainly the resuscitation of the idea of earth buildings produced to standard designs by the prominent architect seem to have been inspired by the initiative of Peter the Great.

⁴⁶⁴ File on the coal exploration project under the directorship of L'vov., RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N100, 1804; File on the steam engine, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N107; File on the office of the heating Moscow with turf, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N113; Menelaws's letter to L'vov of 2 February, 1803, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N112, p.23 reverse. However, none of those projects was eventually fulfilled.

⁴⁶⁵ S.S.Ozhegov. op.cit., pp.13-18.

CHAPTER IV, PART II

THE PRIORAT

Paul granted L'vov a number of commissions for pisé buildings, most importantly the Priory Palace (Priorat) in Gatchina, the Imperial residence near St.Petersburg. The Palace erected in 1798 and 1799 deserves special attention because it is the only one of L'vov's earth structures known to have survived. (Plate 161) The only detailed study of the Palace was produced by I.P.Liubarova and A.B.Nikitina, who attempted both to outline the history of the earth construction in Russia and to describe the process of recent restorations of the building. However, this article fails to give an adequate stylistic analysis of the Priorat and other L'vov's earth structures, ignores the Scottish contribution to the introduction of the technique of pisé in Russia and is obscurely written.⁴⁶⁶

The Palace cannot be associated with any particular style but should be considered a picturesque combination of the motifs of the Classical, Medieval and eighteenth century architecture. The spire and the roofs of various heights and forms on each part of the Priorat create a broken skyline characteristic of Gothic architecture, which L'vov observed during his travels through France, Spain and Italy. However, the plan of the main building is based on the typically Neo-Classical pattern of symmetrically arranged squares to which a pentagonal chapel is added. The wooden ceiling of the large halls had a coffered structure,

⁴⁶⁶ I.P.Liubarova, A.B.Nikitina. 'Prioratskii dvorets i zemlebitnoe stroitel'stvo v Rossii' (The Palace of Priorat and earth construction in Russia), Arkhitekturnoe nasledie i restavratsiia, (Architectural heritage and restoration), collection of essays, Moscow, 1990, pp.170-184.

which was unique for Russian architecture and was probably a reconstruction of an ancient method of making ceilings, as described by L'vov in a footnote to Palladio's treatise.⁴⁶⁷ The eclecticism of that design is also demonstrated by the contrast of the pointed windows of the Chapel and a single Classical Doric column supporting the canopy over the entrance situated in the recess of the facade facing the lake. The facades of the Priorat are based on simple geometric forms and modelled on the designs for earth buildings recommended by Francois Cointeraux. (Plate 162) The facade of the kitchen built near the Palace and comprised of the rectangular facade with the triangular pediment with the circular window is particularly close to Cointeraux's design.

In contrast to other L'vov's country houses, the Priorat is not Palladian in inspiration. Given the architect's belief in the superiority of Palladian rules expressed in his preface to the translation of Palladio's treatise,⁴⁶⁸ it is essential to consider why he abandoned them in the Priorat. The departure from the canons of Neo-Classicism not infrequently occurred in the works of late eighteenth century architects. For instance, the Bank Stock Office in London completed by John Soane in 1782 and demolished in c.1930 has been considered by John Summerson as a building 'unclassifiable in terms of any known style': the building featured the free treatment of proportion, the absence of classical order

⁴⁶⁷ The ancients made their ceilings in coffers or constructed them as an assortment of cases <i.e. sunken panels> and the carpentry decorating them was not covered with a protective solution. N.A.L'vov. Chetyre knigi Palladievoi arkhitektury. op.cit., p.7, footnote 1.

⁴⁶⁸ N.A.L'vov. 'Ot izdatelia russkogo Palladia'. op.cit., pp.1-3.

and the ingenious structure of a 'pendentive' dome.⁴⁶⁹ The individual character of Soane's building may have been influenced by the idea to express practical functions of the Bank Stock Office. The Palace designed by L'vov was also influenced by the peculiarities of the commission and reflected the eccentric character of the client. The Priorat was to become a priory of the Order of the Knights of Malta. The Order, famous for its participation in the Crusades, enjoyed Paul's unlimited patronage. The Tsar established two Grand Priories of Russia, included the Maltese Cross in the state Coat of Arms and took the position of the Grand Master of the Order. The reasons for such an attraction of the Russian Orthodox Tsar to a Catholic Order are difficult to explain: various theories elaborated by scholars range from a pragmatic desire to establish a Russian naval base on Malta to the monarch's romantic fascination with the chivalric rituals.⁴⁷⁰ L'vov was quick to respond to the taste of the Tsar by writing a book on the heraldic history of the grand masters of the Maltese Order.⁴⁷¹ The architect was also made a cavalier of the Grand Priory of Russia and given a commandery, the lowest subdivision of the order, in 1797.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁹ 'Pendentive dome' is 'a structure consisting of one continuous spherical surface. For a description of Soane's use of such domes see: John Summerson. 'Soane: the Man and the Style'. John Soane. op.cit., p.13.

⁴⁷⁰ Roderick E. McGrew. op.cit., pp.260-262.

⁴⁷¹ L'vov's letter to Count Grigorii Grigorjevich Kushelev of 10 May, 1800, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N106, p.1 reverse; L'vov's letter to Ilia Andreevich Bezborodko of 5 April, 1801, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, p.272. The book was not published and no L'vov's manuscripts relating to this subject have been discovered.

⁴⁷² The letter to L'vov from the central civilian office (capitul) of the Russian priory, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N115, p.10.

Paul's enthusiasm for Medieval chivalry was reflected in his interest in Gothic architecture. For instance, the Tsar and Bazhenov, Paul's favourite architect, designed the Mikhailovskii Castle, Paul's main residence in St.Petersburg, as an imitation of a Medieval fortress: it was protected by moats while the towers topped with the spires remind one of Gothic architecture. The Castle was constructed under the supervision of Vincenzo Brenna from 1797 until 1800. L'vov, who must have carefully studied the taste of his patron, included in the design for the Priorat elements of the composition of the Grand Palace in Gatchina, the Tsar's favourite suburban residence completed by Brenna in 1798. (Plate 163) Both Palaces are situated on the banks of lakes and are reminiscent of Medieval castles: the buildings are decorated with towers and the courtyards at their entrance are symbolically protected by mock fortifications. Brenna's fortress called Bip and built from 1795 until 1798 at Pavlovsk is also comparable to the Priorat. (Plate 164) The Bip is also symbolically protected by water, its towers and fortifications imitate the forms of Medieval castles. Similar to the Priorat, the Bip was not conceived by Paul as a garden decoration but was intended to perform its 'real' function and had a permanent garrison. However, Brenna's European fame rested not only on the medievalist structures commissioned by Paul but more importantly on his studies of Roman baths and Neo-Classical designs inspired by the architecture of antiquity.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷³ Gerard Vaughan. 'Vincenzo Brenna Romanus: Architectus et Pictor': Drawings from the Antique in the late eighteenth-century Rome. Apollo. October, 1996, pp.37-41.

Adrean Zakharov was appointed the architect in Gatchina in 1799.⁴⁷⁴ He was entrusted to rebuild a Lutheran Church in the village of Malye Kolpany near Gatchina which he designed in forms of Gothic: the structure has a basilica type of plan and pointed windows, the tower was originally topped with a spire.⁴⁷⁵ (Plate 165) For Gatchina, Zakharov designed the monastery of St.Kharlampii which if it had been built would have been similar to the Priorat in both its religious function and decoration: the monastery was to have a tower with a spire and simple ornamentation of the walls with rectangular and Gothic windows and decorative batresses. (Plate 166) The style of those works contrasts with other Neo-Classical designs by Zakharov executed for other clients. For instance Zakharov's Admiralty in St.Petersburg built during the reign of Alexander I is a paradigm of European Neo-Classicism. Therefore one must suggest that not only L'vov but also such convinced Neo-Classicists as Brenna and Zakharov responded to the taste of the Tsar by designing buildings which were romantic in inspiration.

The emergence of the interest in Medieval architecture is closely related to the concept of the Picturesque developed in England during the eighteenth century. That notion also influenced the designs of L'vov's earth buildings. In the Priorat which the architect himself characterised as 'intricate'⁴⁷⁶, his intention was not to produce a harmonious and balanced composition but to create the effect of

⁴⁷⁴ A.Makarov, V.Petrov. op.cit., p.51.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., p.72.

⁴⁷⁶ L'vov's letter to Dmitrii Rodionovich Koshelev of 23 January, 1801, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N.117, p.248 reverse.

surprise by confronting a spectator with a number of paradoxes. The use of the essentially rural building material in the structure must have seemed as unusual to his contemporaries as the idea of establishing a stronghold of Medieval chivalry in Russia in the age of the Enlightenment. The Priorat is situated in a carefully arranged setting: the solitary castle reflected in the water and its white walls contrasted with the dark fir trees of the forest in the background produce a thoroughly romantic picture which evokes the sensation of the Sublime central to the Picturesque.⁴⁷⁷ In contrast to L'vov's designs for Palladian country houses, the designs for the Priorat represent the Palace surrounded by the landscape. The practice of depicting a building together with its setting was characteristic for the Picturesque and common in England.⁴⁷⁸ L'vov probably adopted the method from Adam Menelaws whose designs for cottages in the Gatchina album and for the buildings in the School of Agriculture near Pavlovsk, which are discussed below, represent both the structures and the scenery. L'vov might also have learned it from James Hackett, the gardener in Gatchina, who was in charge of landscaping the area around the Priorat and worked simultaneously with L'vov.⁴⁷⁹ After the assassination of Paul in March 1801 the Priorat was no longer used for its original purpose, since the Order of the Maltese knights was not patronised by Paul's successor. Thus the Priorat became an extravagant garden

⁴⁷⁷ David Watkin. The English Vision. The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design. John Murray, 1982, p.IX.

⁴⁷⁸ David Watkin. The English Vision. op.cit., p.X.

⁴⁷⁹ Hackett laid out paths, planted pine and fur trees around the Black lake and the Priorat. He deepened the lake, created islands, changed the outline of its banks and made hillocks. V.Makarov, A.Petrov. op.cit., p.59. There is no study devoted specifically to Hackett's work in Russia.

folly, typical for the Picturesque and comparable with structures built in different parts of Europe.

In England, the Gothic Temple at Stowe constructed by James Gibbs in 1741 is similar to the Priorat in that it embodies the reference to the Middle Ages as the source of the true political values.⁴⁸⁰ Paul's determination to bring prosperity to Russia by introduction of the chivalric values into the state ideology reminds one of the equally fanciful view of Lord Cobham, the owner of Stowe, that the Goths were advocates of Liberty, Constitution and Enlightenment.⁴⁸¹

Stylistically the Priorat and other L'vov's earth structures have several analogies in Europe. One of these is the Thatched Palace in Liselund, Island of Mon, Denmark built for Antoine de la Calmette.⁴⁸² The simplicity of the exterior of the Thatched Palace, which has one facade standing in the water, is reminiscent of the Priorat, while the thatched roof and the columns made of tree trunks are similar to L'vov's earth cottages. During his travels through Germany,⁴⁸³ L'vov may have seen structures similar to the Priorat which are not uncommon for the traditional architecture of that country. This hypothesis can be illustrated by the Picturesque view of a German town produced by the Russian painter Gaev in the

⁴⁸⁰ David Watkin. The English Vision. op.cit., pp.20-21.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, p.21.

⁴⁸² See illustration in: ibid, p.174.

⁴⁸³ K. Lappo-Danilevskii. 'Novye dannye k biografii N.A.L'vova'. op.cit., p. 139.

nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁴ (Plate 167) The forms of the white building with a spire represented in the centre of the composition as well as its location on a bank of a lake are reminiscent of those of the Priorat.

Building technique also influenced the style of the Palace. L'vov pointed out in one of his letters that the simplicity of the building material produced no need for intricate decoration of earth structures.⁴⁸⁵ Therefore, he used no ornament at all on the facades of the Priorat. Originally the architect also intended not to use plaster on the exterior surfaces in order to reveal the texture of the pisé walls and to contrast it with that of the basement and the tower, which were built of stone.⁴⁸⁶ Significantly enough, Cointeraux advertised pisé structures as suitable for the decoration of English garden scenery due to the 'natural' qualities and colour of the material.⁴⁸⁷

The walls of the Priorat were erected according to the methods suggested by Cointeraux: pure earth cleared of all weeds was rammed in portable wooden compressing units. (Plate 168) Traces of that device filled with lime mortar are found in the walls. (Plate 169) The fortification around the yard was made of pre-shaped earth blocks set on lime mortar. (Plate 170) The pisé walls of the main

⁴⁸⁴ The painting is displayed in the exhibition of the department of Russian culture in the Hermitage, St.Petersburg. The staff of the department has no further information as to the location of the place depicted by Gaev or the exact date of the canvas.

⁴⁸⁵ L'vov's letter to Dmitrii Koshelev of 23 January 1798, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, p.248 reverse.

⁴⁸⁶ N.Dmitriev. 'Zemlianoie stroenie v Prioratskom parke v Gatchine' ('The earth structure in the park of the Priorat in Gatchina'). Stroitel', N24, p.7.

⁴⁸⁷ Francois Cointeraux. École d'architecture rurale. Quatrième cahier. Paris, 1791, p.21.

structure were protected from the water by the stone basement with a layer of straw mixed with clay on top of it. Stone belts were inserted into the walls as a reinforcement. The walls in the interior of the Palace were coated with lime mixed with cow's hair.⁴⁸⁸ That method is called 'English' in archival documents but it was also practised in Scotland for plastering clay walls.⁴⁸⁹ In Gatchina, it was introduced by the Scottish stonemasons David Cunningham and John Cochrane who were in charge of construction of the Palace. The importance of the Scots' contribution in executing L'vov's project is emphasised by the fact that Cochrane was delegated the responsibility to present the completed Palace for the official inspection.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ Contract signed by the peasant Klim Petrov in September 1798, RGIA, fond 491, opis 1, N246, 1798, p.172.

⁴⁸⁹ Bruce Walker et al., *op.cit.*, p.86.

⁴⁹⁰ L'vov's letter to Gatchina city council of 23 November 1798, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, p. 116 reverse.

CHAPTER IV, PART III

THE SCHOOL OF PRACTICAL FARMING AND AGRICULTURE

Simultaneous with the Priorat, L'vov in collaboration with Menelaws erected two earth buildings in the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture (Shkola prakticheskogo zemledeliia i sel'skogo khoziaistva) in Tiarlevo (Belozerka), near Pavlovsk. The main source of information about the School, no trace of which now exists in Tiarlevo, is the programme of that institution and the designs for School buildings engraved by Gavriilo Kharitonov published in book form in 1798.⁴⁹¹

The programme and structure of the School deserves special attention because it considerably influenced the concept of L'vov's School of Earth Construction. The aim of the School in Tiarlevo was to instruct peasants summoned from different parts of Russia in modern British and German methods of agriculture. The teaching process was concentrated on practical skills. For instance, the section of the School devoted to rural architecture and mechanics was set to give the students the experience in designing farms, cottages, barns, stables, etc., and in economical and sound methods of building in wood and earth. Instructions were also given in making roads, canals and bridges. The curriculum was different in winter when the activities focused on reading books on agriculture written by German and English authors. A translator from the both languages was appointed as a member of staff. Russian edition of the treatise of Arthur Young

⁴⁹¹ Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva. (Programme of the School of Practical Agriculture and Farming.) St.Petersburg, 1798.

and other publications on agriculture were made available to those with no knowledge of foreign languages.⁴⁹² The students were selected mainly from peasants and also from the students of Moscow University and religious schools. They were provided with full board, clothing, housing and medical care. After completing the course the students were to receive a printed diploma and start to disseminate their knowledge throughout the Empire.⁴⁹³

The programme of the School must have been compiled by Andrei Samborskii, an anglophile and enthusiast of agricultural improvement, who initially presented his idea to Catherine II in 1779.⁴⁹⁴ However, the Empress did not support that initiative which was endorsed by Paul I in 1797.

An archival document indicates that L'vov was in charge of the construction of a dwelling house of two storeys and a cattle yard.⁴⁹⁵ However, Menelaws must also have participated in that work since he was the architect of the School and responsible for instructing the students in the techniques of earth and clay building.⁴⁹⁶ The main Schoolhouse which is shown in an illustration as a building of two storeys and was to become the home of the architect of the School should be identified as one of the earth buildings. (Plate 171)

⁴⁹² These probably included Samborskii's treatise Opisanie prakticheskogo anglinskago zemledeliia. (A Description of the Practical English Farming). Moscow: Novikov, 1781.

⁴⁹³ Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva. op.cit., pp.1-6.

⁴⁹⁴ A.G.Cross. op.cit., pp.64-65.

⁴⁹⁵ Report on the assignments entrusted to L'vov, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N118, p.125.

⁴⁹⁶ Adam Menelaws's biographical note, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N111, p.15, reverse.

The design for the Schoolhouse is inspired by the works of Palladio. The structure is square in plan and situated in the front range of a rectangular courtyard surrounded by services. That layout is based on the composition of the villa Pisani in Bagnolo published by Palladio in The Four Books on Architecture in 1570. (Plate 69) Similar plans were also adopted by British architects for model farms as indicated above in the discussion of Menelaws's design for the farm in the Gatchina Album. The cuboid volume of the Schoolhouse is terminated with a cupola decorated with tripartite window and also recalls Palladio's study of a ground plan and elevation for a villa. (Plate 87) Another source of inspiration for L'vov was the work of Cameron who pioneered the use of the type of Palladian villa in Russia in the Palace at Pavlovsk and the Cathedral of St. Sophia near Tsarskoe Selo both completed by the 1790s. (Plate 172) L'vov imitated those Cameron structures in his country house in Nikolskoe and the Cathedral in Torzhok. However, the facade of the Schoolhouse lacks a portico typical for Palladian buildings because it would have been inappropriate for the earth structure. The sparse decoration of the exterior is consistent with L'vov's views on decoration of earth buildings and reminds one of the Priorat.

It seems probable that the composition of the Palladian villa was chosen for the Schoolhouse in order to create stylistic correspondence with both of Cameron's buildings, which were situated within walking distance from the School of Agriculture. Samborskii, the director of the School, was the dean of the Cathedral while the Empress Maria, the patroness of the School and the wife of Paul I,

lived at Pavlovsk Palace.⁴⁹⁷ The reference to the royal patronage is contained in the first illustration of the album depicting the altar with Paul's insignia above it to which Maria is approaching. (Plate 173)

The two designs for cattle yards illustrated in the book are similar and each of them could have been built of earth. (Plate 174) The larger structure indicated in the plate and marked with 'A' was intended for a gentleman's farm and included dwellings for labourers and the manager of that section of the School. The symmetrical arrangement of the plan and the facade with protruding parts in the centre and the sides was probably based on Menelaws's drawing of the farm in the Gatchina album. The design for a peasant's cattle yard indicated with 'B' is similar to the sketches of houses for L'vov's serfs in the Gatchina album: the buildings form a simple rectangular block with a projecting dwelling in the front. (Plates 175, 176)

A consideration of other illustrations in the book is important in order to throw light on the creative relationship between L'vov and Menelaws. The designs produced by Menelaws were inspired by Palladio, the architecture of British model farms and the Picturesque. For example the facade of the poultry yard (Plate 177) is an adaptation of the composition of the west front of Palladio's churches such as San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. (Plate 178) The interplay of the pediments of various sizes is emphasised in Menelaws's design which includes the four pediments of Palladio's composition: one intersected by the

⁴⁹⁷ Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva. op.cit., p.1.

central part of the facade, another on top of the structure and two small pediments above the windows. The four Corinthian columns of Palladio's portico are repeated as wooden trunks. The symmetrical plan of the structure with a staircase located in the centre of the building was influenced by the designs for villas published by Palladio in The Four Books on Architecture. However, unlike Palladio's structures the poultry yard was designed to be built of wood. The vernacular building material, the traditionally Russian decoration of the of the roof with overhanging eaves and the rustic landscape of the setting indicate the influence of the Picturesque.

The layouts of the buildings of the School are the same as those used for British model farms, such as a 'Monastic Farm' and others illustrated by John Plaw, and are emphatically geometrical. For example the plan of the stables is based on an octagon, while the dairy is circular in plan.⁴⁹⁸

The prototype of the windmill is found in a drawing in the Gatchina album. (Plates 179, 180) It is possible to suggest that the designs of the farms in the Gatchina album were produced by L'vov in collaboration with Menelaws. One of the sketches in the album represents a semicircular structure, probably a farm building. (Plate 181) That form was particularly typical for farm architecture in Scotland,⁴⁹⁹ one example of its use is the steading in Kirchiaran, Islay, Argyll, built in the second half of the eighteenth century. (Plate 182)

⁴⁹⁸ John Martin Robinson. Georgian Model Farms. op.cit., p.62.

Menelaws also imitated L'vov's Palladian designs. For instance the facade of the veterinary clinic (Plate 183) is modelled on the designs for Churches in Ananiino and Vyborg, the city to the north of St.Petersburg produced by L'vov during the 1780s.⁵⁰⁰ The central part of the facade in the design for Ananiino has the identical motif of a tripartite window in an arched recess under a pediment while the Church in Vyborg has similar additions on the sides in the form of segments of a rotunda. The motif of the pediment decorated with a tripartite window which was used in the design for the smithy is also common in L'vov's structures, such as the stables in Mitino, a country estate near Torzhok designed by L'vov during the 1780s.⁵⁰¹ (Plate 184) The rotunda depicted on the front page of the album is reminiscent of those designed by L'vov, for instance the structure in the estate of Znamenskoie and the bell tower of the Church in Murino near St.Petersburg. (Plate 185)

One must therefore suggest that Menelaws's designs for the buildings for the School of Agriculture are similar to L'vov's works and are inspired by the same sources.

The layout of the School of Agriculture was influenced by the concept of British model villages and probably represents the example for imitation by the Russian nobility. On the area of approximately 2.76 sq.km (252 desiatiny, 1170 sazhen) were concentrated all features typical for Russian country estates, such as the

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid, pp.64-65.

⁵⁰⁰ M.V.Budilina et al. op.cit., p. 12.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, p. 28.

Palladian mansion as the Schoolhouse, the park laid out in the English manner and decorated with pavilions, orchards, vegetable gardens, fields, pastures, mills, stables, forest, etc. The only building missing was a church, though the students and the members of staff were probably expected to visit the Cathedral of St.Sophia. The buildings of the School were situated in the Picturesque manner, for instance, along a winding road or near the water, at a distance from each other. (Plate 186) Similar principles of design were applied to British model villages, such as Milton Abbas in Dorset, 1773, which was laid out by William Chambers and Capability Brown along a winding road and near a pond specially located to enhance the Picturesque effect. Samborskii stayed in Britain for several years: for instance from 1768 until 1779 he served as the chaplain of the Russian Embassy in London. He was elected a member of the Royal Society of Arts and became a friend of Arthur Young and Jeremy Bentham, the influential agricultural theorists.⁵⁰² Samborskii's expertise in English agriculture acknowledged by Arthur Young makes it possible to suggest that he must have known about the concept of model villages, which were build in Britain during eighteenth century.

The idea of model villages was widespread in Scotland and may have been known to L'vov from his Scots associates, such as Menelaws. For instance, it is indicated below that Menelaws may have visited Charlestown, near Dunfermline, a planned village founded by Charles, fifth Earl of Elgin to house workers at his

⁵⁰² A.G. Cross. By the Banks of the Thames. op.cit., pp.39-43.

limeworks. The village included 'model' undecorated cottages arranged on a rectangular layout round a green.⁵⁰³

By organising the Agricultural School near their summer residence the royal family may have intended to emulate the model farms arranged by Nathaniel Kent for George III at Windsor during the 1790s.⁵⁰⁴ Paul and Maria were possibly aware of the King's experiment. They could receive information on the King's farms from Samborskii who enjoyed a favourable position at the Russian court and was a correspondent of Arthur Young, a propagandist of model farms and one of the agricultural advisers to the King.⁵⁰⁵ Maria is known to have had special interest in English horticulture: for instance, she requested George III to send her plants from Kew which she received in 1795 together with designs for hothouses and a plan of that garden.⁵⁰⁶

The influence of the concept of English Picturesque villages is obvious in the park at Pavlovsk which was laid out under the supervision of Maria. For instance at the park she organised a model village called Etupes in which she lodged colonists from her family's estate in Montbeliard, Eastern France. Such relocation seems to have been an integral part of the model village concept and had already occurred in England, for instance on the estate of Joseph Damer who

⁵⁰³ John Gifford. The Buildings of Scotland. Fife. Penguin Books, 1988, p. 124.

⁵⁰⁴ J.M.Robinson. op.cit., p.31.

⁵⁰⁵ A.G.Cross. op.cit., p.66.

⁵⁰⁶ Harold B. Carter. 'Sir Joseph Banks and the Plant Collection from Kew sent to the Empress Catherine II of Russia, 1795.' Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History) Historical Series, vol.4, No.5. London. 1974, pp.347, 356.

forced the people of a market town to move to Milton Abbas. In France, the English ideas of model villages were realised and modified both on the royal and aristocratic estates, for instance at Chantilly where the Prince de Conde from 1775 built the first hameau to the designs by J.-F. Le Roy. Paul and Maria visited Chantilly during the tour through Western Europe in 1782 and were entertained by the Prince who must have shown them a circle of thatched cottages, a mill and dairy. Maria shared her interest in art and garden design with Marie Antoinette and was probably informed about the ongoing work on the hameau in Petit Trianon at Versailles. The hameau was designed by Hubert Robert and Richard Mique in 1780 and demonstrated to the Queen by producing models before the construction took place.⁵⁰⁷ Prior to leaving for Russia, Maria commissioned from Hubert Robert a number of paintings and subsequently took care to build a dairy, mill and cottages at Pavlovsk. During the month of their stay in Paris Paul and Maria obtained maps, plans and guides for everything they saw.⁵⁰⁸

The idea to improve the living conditions of the poor must also have been embodied in the model settlements near Pavlovsk patronised by Maria, who was well known for her charitable activities. For instance, Quarenghi was commissioned to build Mariinskii hospital for war veterans opposite the Palace at Pavlovsk in 1781. A similar philanthropic attitude coupled with interest in primitive manner of building prompted Philip Yorke, the owner of the Hertfordshire estate of Hammels, to commission John Soane in 1784 to design a model village consisting of five semidetached cottages with gardens organized on

⁵⁰⁷ David Watkin, The English Vision, op.cit., p.168.

a regular plan and situated in Yorke Place adjacent to his estate. However, the design was not realised. Soane subsequently pointed out in the introduction to his Sketches in Architecture, 1793, that he had been working 'on a smaller scale, consisting of cottages for the laborious and industrious parts of the community'.⁵⁰⁹ The examples of the work of Soane and L'vov on designing model settlements near the estates of the rich and powerful demonstrate the common philanthropic aspirations of architects and patrons in Britain and Russia at the late eighteenth century.

The idea of the School of Agriculture, and in particular the vernacular features of the design for the poultry yard were probably used by the Rossi in 1815 in the design of the village of Glazovo situated on the border of the park at Pavlovsk next to Tiarlevo.⁵¹⁰ The houses in Glazovo were to be built of wood and decorated with traditional Russian motifs, such as overhanging eaves. (Plate 187) The vernacular buildings grouped around a circular pond provided a Picturesque continuation of the landscapes of the park and thus served the same visual role as the Etupes and the structures of the School of Agriculture. The idea of vernacular Picturesque villages in the park at Pavlovsk was fully developed by the landscape architect and stage sets designer Pietro Gonzago (1751-1831). The description by the writer Fiodor Glinka of a huge painting produced by Gonzago in 1814 not

⁵⁰⁸ Roderick E. McGrew. *op.cit.*, pp.132-137.

⁵⁰⁹ Kruff. *op.cit.*, p.256.

⁵¹⁰ Marianna Z. Taranovskaia. *op.cit.*, p.161.

only illustrates that point but also represents a Russian version of the ideas of 'make -believe' and illusion central to English Picturesque:⁵¹¹

I went behind the Pavilion of roses and saw a beautiful village with a church, a manor house and a country inn. I saw tall cottages of the peasants, saw houses with chambers and coloured glass, hedges and fences between them and green beds and small gardens behind. Piles of straw and hay stacks, etc. etc. came in sight in different places - only people were nowhere to be seen: perhaps, I thought, they are at work. Convinced in the reality of what appeared to me I walked further and further ahead <...> The closer I approached, the more the charm disappeared. All advancing parts quickly receded, reliefs vanished, colours faded, shadows grew pale, nuances diminished - a few more steps and I saw a stretched canvas on which Gonzago drew a stage set. A dozen of times I approached the stage set and found nothing; a dozen of times I walked a few steps back and again saw everything!⁵¹²

Similar model villages were also built at the end of eighteenth century on the estates of the Russian nobility. For instance Princess Dashkova, the sister of L'vov's patrons Count Vorontsov, visited Britain and stayed in Scotland from 1777 until 1779.⁵¹³ She subsequently constructed such as a settlement on her estate of Troitskoie in Kaluga region, south of Moscow, to show to an English visitor. The peasants dressed in the traditional holiday suits were encouraged to dance on the grass near their newly built cottages.⁵¹⁴ Both L'vov and Menelaws must have been aware of such experiments and used similar ideas in their work.

⁵¹¹ David Watkin. The English Vision. op.cit., p.vii.

⁵¹² Quoted in: D. Likhachiov. op.cit., p.255.

⁵¹³ A.G.Cross. Anglophilia on the throne. op.cit., p.97.

⁵¹⁴ M. Kochan. Life in Russia under Catherine the Great. London: B.T.Batsford Ltd. New York: G.P.Putnam's Sons. 1969, p.33.

CHAPTER IV, PART IV

THE SCHOOL OF EARTH CONSTRUCTION

On 21st of August 1797, Paul issued a decree which obliged local governors and encouraged landowners to send peasants to L'vov's estate Nikolskoe to study earth building. L'vov was also granted a piece of arable land in Tiukhili (Tiufili), near Moscow which was supposed to provide him with enough income to cover the costs of running the School. The scale of the enterprise was so grand that L'vov opened a branch of the School in Tiukhili and, in 1799, he persuaded Menelaws to quit his job in the School of Agriculture and become architect of the School in Tiukhili.⁵¹⁵ Although L'vov was the director of the School, he was at the same time engaged in an extensive project of coal exploration and visited Moscow only occasionally. He entrusted Menelaws to supervise all works in the School and also sent to Moscow David Cunningham who was made responsible for construction of the earth tower on the Schoolhouse.⁵¹⁶ (See Appendix 2 for L'vov's instruction to Cunningham describing the method of building)

The objective of the School was to introduce pisé in rural architecture by instructing peasants summoned from different regions of Russia for the period of 18 months. L'vov emphasised that students should preferably have been selected from joiners, carpenters and masons used to working with straight lines.⁵¹⁷ The

⁵¹⁵ Letter from Menelaws to L'vov of 28 November 1803, RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, N50, p.50.

⁵¹⁶ The order to the carpenter and stonemason David Cunningham of 23 August, 1799, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, p.94.

⁵¹⁷ Appendix to 'Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti', op.cit., p.2.

teaching was based on practical exercises: students built various model structures, such as a church, cottages, workshops, fences and a colonnade. In addition to building in pisé, they were trained in making stoves, building roads, bridges of tree roots, canals and gates which closed automatically.⁵¹⁸ In a letter to the Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich Kozlovskii, L'vov offered to teach his peasants to build hedges of shrubs and grass, which protected the garden from any harm from the outside but did not obstruct the view of the owner strolling in the park while letting him observe and enjoy the beauties of the surrounding area.⁵¹⁹ The idea of such hedges identical to English 'Ha-Ha' was probably adopted by L'vov from William Gould (1735-1812), the gardener employed by Prince Potemkin and the Empress. In 1794, Gould completed a 'Ha-Ha' in the park of Tauride Palace in St. Petersburg which was situated in the vicinity of L'vov's dacha on the left bank of the Neva river.⁵²⁰ Samborskii who not only co-operated with L'vov at the School of Agriculture but also assisted in laying out the landscape garden in the royal estate of Alexandrova near Pavlovsk frequently visited Gould and probably informed L'vov about Gould's works.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ Report on the skills, in which the students of earth construction have been trained, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N120, pp.111 reverse, 271.

⁵¹⁹ RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N117, p.271. The letter written in Moscow dates from 11 of April, 1801.

⁵²⁰ John Parkinson. A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea. 1792-1794. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1971, p.226. L'vov's dacha which no longer exists was situated at the junction of the present Sinopskaia Embankment and Prospekt Bakunina, near the Monastery of Alexander Nevskii. N.I.Nikulina. Nikolai L'vov. op.cit., p.68.

⁵²¹ A.G.Cross. By the Banks of the Thames. op.cit., p.43.

In winter, when the earth works were impossible to undertake the students of the School in Moscow were engaged in making the instruments of wood and special rafters for roofs. On completion of the course, the graduates received a printed diploma and a certificate which was an instruction in earth building. (See Appendix 3) It is obvious that the programme of L'vov's School is similar to that of the School of Agriculture created by Samborskii.

The only view of the School represents two cottages connected with the colonnade.⁵²² (Plate 188) The thatched roof and rough wooden columns supporting the loggia in the building in the foreground emphasise the rustic character of the design. The structure has an uncommon motif of a loggia under an arch projecting through the roof which reminds one of a similar composition in the Easter cottage in Charlestown built after 1771.⁵²³ (Plate 189) The Easter

⁵²² The picture is kept in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. An English inscription on the back of the picture suggests that the view is of Tiukhili. It might have been produced either by Menelaws or by Ivan Ivanov, a graduate in architecture of the Academy of Arts in St.Petersburg who was hired in 1798 to copy L'vov and Menelaws designs. Ivanov, born in 1780, was a son of Alexei Ivanov the professor of the Academy of Arts; he was accepted into the Academy in 1789, awarded second silver medal for an architectural design and graduated with the diploma of the first class. (Letters of the secretary of the Academy of Arts Piotr Chekalevskii to L'vov of 13 October, 1798, and 13 November 1798, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 120, pp.47, 48, 51; N 111, p.10 reverse). In a letter of 15th of August, 1799, Ivanov wrote to his friend A.Kh.Vostokov that L'vov requested him to draw views of Tiukhili. Quoted in: A.N.Glumov. *op. cit.*, p.160. The partnership of Menelaws and Ivanov continued in the nineteenth century, for instance, both of them were involved in building works in Tsarskoe Selo during the late 1810s and 1820s. An example of their co-operation is the Egyptian Gates at the entrance to that Imperial residence. See: A.K. Andreev. 'Adam Menelaws'. *op.cit.*

⁵²³ The precise date of the erection of the building is unknown. According to the oldest estate survey kept in the archive of the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine which was carried out in the year 1771 there is no cottage marked at the spot where Easter Cottage now stands. The earliest record

cottage is situated on the Fife coast of the Forth, near Dunfermline, a few miles away from the port of Leith from which Menelaws had originally left for St.Petersburg. It is possible that he saw that building and used it as a source for his design.

Although little is known about the biography of Menelaws before his arrival in Russia, there is evidence to suggest that he worked as a master stonemason in the Edinburgh area. Menelaws responded to an advertisement published in Edinburgh Evening Courant on 21st January 1784, which on behalf of Catherine the Great invited experienced workmen to Russia. On arrival in St.Petersburg, he was listed as a master stonemason and a vaulting master that must have reflected his previous occupation.⁵²⁴ Therefore he might have visited Charlestown Lime Company, which was the main supplier of lime essential for making mortar and whitewash in south east Scotland. It is also possible that Menelaws returned to Charlestown in 1800 when he was sent to Britain with the mission to hire a master of lime and brick furnaces and other craftsmen.⁵²⁵ He probably shared his expertise in making lime with L'vov who in his book Russkaia pirostatika

of the building is apparently a drawing which was made by a Lady Matilda Bruce in 1818 and kept in the same archive. The structure must therefore date from the end of eighteenth or beginning of nineteenth centuries that makes the supposition of it being copied by Menelaws a plausible one.

⁵²⁴ A.G.Cross. 'Cameron's Scottish Workmen'. op.cit., pp.53, 71.

⁵²⁵ Instruction given by L'vov to Menelaws on 22 January 1800, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, pp.191 reverse-193. Although Menelaws spent several months in Britain, leaving Russia in January and returning in June, his mission was unsuccessful: Count Semion Vorontsov, the Russian ambassador to London, reported that the British authorities prevented highly-skilled workmen from working in other countries. RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, p.223.

published in 1795 described an improved method of producing lime and hoped to introduce it in Russia.⁵²⁶

The design of the School of Earth Construction was also influenced by the concepts of model villages and the Picturesque. For instance, the vernacular style of the earth cottages reminds one of the houses in Milton Abbas which were thatched and plastered in order to imitate the traditional cob construction. The pointed arch of the loggia in the cottage in Tiukhili echoes the forms of the medieval architecture of the village of Kolomenskoe, one of the old tsarist residences, situated across the river Moskva. According to a drawing produced by Ivanov in 1802, the layout of the School was irregular: buildings were situated on both sides of the main road and arranged in groups at a distance from each other. (Plate 190) The informal layout of the School and its location near the tsarist residence may also have been influenced by the design of the School of Agriculture in Tiarlevo: both institutions could have served as examples of ideal rural landscape before the eyes of the monarch.

The School was situated in a picturesque rural setting on the bank of the Moskva river, next to woods and small lakes. That area was made famous by the writer Nikolai Karamzin, whose sentimental story of Poor Liza published in 1792, tells of a peasant girl seduced by a rich young man. The neighbourhood of

⁵²⁶ Nikolai L'vov. Russkaia pirostatika, ili upotreblenie ispytannykh uzhe vozdushnykh pechei i kaminov (Russian pyrostatics, or the use of already tested air stoves and fire places).

St.Petersburg, 1795.

Kolomenskoe where the story takes place is described by the writer as one of the most beautiful places in the environs of Moscow.

<...> to me the most pleasant place is the one on which the gloomy Gothic towers of the Si<mo>nov monastery are raising. Standing on that hill one sees on the right side almost all Moscow, that formidable mass of houses and churches, which appears to the eyes in the image of grand amphitheatre: magnificent picture, especially when lit by the sun, when its rays are glowing on countless golden cupolas, on countless crosses, rising to the heavens! Below lay succulent, mellow green blooming meadows, and behind them, on the yellow sands flows bright river, disturbed by the light oars of fishermen's boats or stirred by the rudder of bulky vessels, which sail from the most fertile provinces of the Russian Empire and provide greedy Moscow with grain. On the other side of the river a grove of oaks is seen, beside which numerous herds are grazing; there young shepherds sitting in the shadow of the trees are singing simple melancholy songs and thus shorten summer days, so monotonous to them. Further, in the mellow greenery of ancient elm-trees the gold-domed Danilov monastery is shining; further away, almost on the edge of the horizon the Vorobiovy hills are appearing in blue. On the left side vast bread-grain fields are visible, groves, three or four small villages and at a distance the village of Kolomenskoie with its tall Palace.⁵²⁷

Ivanov in one of his letters to Vostokov from Tiukhili describes that area and mentions people visiting the sights pictured by Karamzin:

This L'vov's dacha Tiufili (sic) is situated near the Simonov monastery, its boundaries touch those of the monastery lands, to which the pond of Liza belongs <...> Trees, hillocks and bushes remind one in some unexplainable way of Liza <...> I saw everything what was described by Karamzin <...> I found the pond, situated in the field and surrounded

⁵²⁷ N.M.Karamzin. Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh. Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1984. Vol. 1, p.506.

with trees and a mound. Now this pond is very famous: many people often walk near it <...> one goes to Tiufili through this area. I remember how often I went from there with L'vov by night on a coach.⁵²⁸

L'vov must have read Poor Liza and his choice of Tiukhili might have been influenced by the proximity to the beautiful site rich with literary associations.⁵²⁹ Karamzin's passage also indicates the appreciative attitude towards Moscow and its traditional buildings, rich in the Picturesque qualities. Although L'vov's Palladian structures were characteristic for Neo-Classical Petersburg, during the reign of Paul I he showed much interest in the medieval architecture of Moscow and seemed to share Karamzin's admiration for the old Russian capital. (See chapter III, parts I and II)

During the six years of the existence of the School, from 1788 until 1803, the course was completed by 815 peasants, 377 of whom received the diplomas of the masters of earth construction.⁵³⁰ They were expected to return to their native regions and to put their recently acquired skills into practice. However, that work was hampered by the conservatism of the public reluctant to commission structures from earth. In order to overcome that difficulty L'vov procured government orders to the local administrations to advertise the new method of construction by erecting model buildings, such as stores for the tools for fire-

⁵²⁸ Quoted in: A.N.Glumov. op.cit., p.160.

⁵²⁹ It is not known whether his choice was also influenced by practical considerations, such as existence of lime sources.

⁵³⁰ Document describing the establishments which were under the supervision of late L'vov and the Tsar's order to abolish the School of Rammed Earth Construction, RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, N 104, 1804, p.8 reverse.

fighting, sentry-boxes, distilleries, wine and gun powder cellars and grain barns. They were also requested to report to L'vov about the progress of the enterprise.

The reaction of people to earth structures ranged from amazement to scepticism. For example the head of the post office in the town of Kungur in Perm region situated to the west of the Ural mountains wrote to L'vov in 1801 that 'the master Piotr Shadrinskii built in the settlements near the town three stores and the inhabitants of the town were extremely curious and surprised greatly by such an extraordinary method of building so far unknown in this area'.⁵³¹ At the same time, the administration of Perm region reported about the unwillingness of the population to adopt earth construction due to its high costs in comparison with buildings of wood: stone used for foundations and lime were not available in many places and had to be transported from afar. Similar accounts were received from other provinces. Thus earth construction failed to oust the traditional method of building from wood.

L'vov also complained about the lack of understanding among local architects who in his view could have discredited the idea of earth construction by designing inappropriate buildings, such as Chinese pavilions, dovecotes, underground cellars and saunas.⁵³² L'vov therefore insisted that the governors

⁵³¹ 'The file on Perm region with five facades and plans of various structures.' RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, N 37, pp.18, 20 reverse.

⁵³² L'vov's letters to the procuror-general Piotr Khrisanfovich Obolianinov of 10 December, 1800, and to Egor Fiodorovich Kudriavtsev, a local governor, RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, pp.240b, 243 reverse.

sent the designs by the local architects to him for approval.⁵³³ Menelaws received such mail in the School in Tiukhili and transferred it to L'vov.⁵³⁴

The designs submitted to L'vov's inspection were intended for simple structures, such as barns, peasants' cottages, sentry-boxes and even a small prison, and were unsophisticated in conception. The alterations were predominantly applied to the decoration of the facades, for instance large semicircular windows, porches supported by columns, triangular pediments, rustication and pointed windows were introduced. (Plate 191) Those motifs were obviously influenced by Middleton's illustration and the loggia of the cottage in Tiukhili. The designs improved in such manner were included in the album of the depictions of earth structures built in different parts of Russia by the graduates of the School of Earth Construction. L'vov presented that volume to the Emperor Alexander I in 1801 in order to advice the monarch about the achievements of the School.⁵³⁵

The designs of forty two buildings illustrated in the album reflect the full range of the sources used by Menelaws for the earth structures. For example, one of the pages of the album represents views of a barn built in Tula, a city one hundred

⁵³³ RGIA, fond 37, opis 11, N 117, p.240b. reverse.

⁵³⁴ Menelaws's report to L'vov of 1 June 1801, RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, N 50, p.23. A number of designs which were altered either by L'vov or Menelaws are now kept in the State Russian Historical Archive in St.Petersburg. RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, NN 13-49. Of particular interest are the designs included in the files of the regions of Smolensk, Tula, Kursk, Astrakhan, Kostroma, Riazan, Simbirsk, Tver, Kaluga, Voronezh, Nizhnii Novgorod, Pskov, Perm, Vladimir, Slobodskoukrainskaia, Saratov, Podolsk, Oriol.

miles south of Moscow. The porch supported by wooden trunks and decorated with a tripartite window is borrowed from figure 1 in Middleton's illustration, while the other facade repeats the design by Cointeraux already used for the Priorat. According to the caption the thatched roof was made in the 'English' manner, that is, with the addition of clay. The same method was used in Scotland for making roofs of earth buildings.⁵³⁶ Several structures depicted in the album such as a house for the serfs of the landlord Veliaminov-Zernov built by Daniil Ryndin in the village of Vorontsovo in Tver region have attic windows with twisted supports similar to the porch of the Easter Cottage at Charlestown. (Plate 192) The loggia and the balcony of the building in Tiukhili influenced the composition of a spare barn in Perm' region. (Plate 193) A number of the illustrations in the album are also reminiscent of Menelaws's designs for the School of Agriculture. For instance, the main features of the facade of the smithy, such as the decoration with rustication and the tripartite window above the doorway flanked with windows, were used in the designs of the store for the tools for fire-fighting built in Perm' region and a dwelling house in Saratov, the city situated on the Volga, south-east of Moscow. (Plate 194) The plan and facade of the sentry-box in Nizhnii Novgorod, also situated on the Volga, east of Moscow, reminds one of the house of the miller in the School in Tiarlevo: the chimney, the tripartite and ordinary windows on the fronts of the both buildings are located on one vertical axis, while the layouts consist of the parlour with the entrance on a

⁵³⁵ The album is now kept in the Russian National Library in St.Petersburg. Department of Manuscripts. The Hermitage collection. Al'bom zemlebitnykh stroenii. (The Album of Earth Structures.), N 262.

⁵³⁶ Bruce Walker. op.cit., p.78.

side and the main room with a stove in the corner and two windows. (Plates 195, 196) One must suggest that Menelaws participated in producing and changing the designs for earth buildings for Russian provinces.

The idea of the album is influenced by the concept of the Picturesque. Although the designs are based on a few sources, the motifs are used in different combinations and as a whole the set of the designs provides an example of the Picturesque variety. Each illustration includes a perspective view of a building depicted in its setting. The chimney stacks with peculiar tops give a touch of complexity to the outline of the roofs and thus serve the purpose of creating the Picturesque effect. John Nash in the almshouses in Blaise Hamlet, Bristol, built in 1810 developed the idea of the intricate chimney stacks to the extreme: they are different in form, very high and made of specially moulded bricks.⁵³⁷ L'vov and Menelaws's relatively early use of motifs associated with the Picturesque testifies to their knowledge of the contemporary development of English aesthetics.

The illustrations in the album are highly illuminating since they record the method of earth building described in detail in the printed certificate issued to the graduates of L'vov's School.⁵³⁸ Before commencing a building the master rammed a sample earth block and left it to dry for two weeks and if it did not

⁵³⁷ Nigel Temple. *op.cit.*, p.85.

⁵³⁸ For instance, 'The certificate from the State School of Rammed Earth Construction to the master Nikolai Fiodorov in Tver region, Novotorzhskii district, village Nikolskoe of 30 September 1803', RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, 1797, No. 51, pp. 1-2.

crack started the building. The stone foundation was laid deeper than the soil freezes and erected 35.5 cm above the ground; the walls were erected with a spirit level; the layers of rammed earth were 6.5 cm thick; and the corners were greased with lime. Resined ties and squares made of thin planks were laid during the construction 18 cm above and below the corners of the windows, and above the doors. A top made of tied planks was laid upon the walls to serve as the basis for the joists in which the rafters were hollowed and fixed with bolts. The stove was made on a special basement and the chimney stood not on the ceiling, but on the stove. A ditch was dug around the structure, water drained aside, and the thatched roof was given an angle of 45 degrees.

L'vov's philanthropic interest in improving the quality of peasants' dwellings was probably influenced by the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau whom L'vov highly appreciated. For example L'vov translated Rousseau's works, such as 'Sur commencement d'annee' and mentioned Rousseau in his poetry, for instance in 'The epitaph to Rousseau' written while the architect was building an earth house in the village of Arpakasi near Gatchina in 1797. Mikhail Nikitich Muraviov in his essay The Life of Nikolai Alexandrovich L'vov, which dates from early nineteenth century, remarks that L'vov was a 'passionate admirer of the citizen of Geneva'.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁹ The 'Epitafia Russo' and 'Oda gospodina Russo...' are published in N.A.L'vov, Izbrannye sochineniia, op.cit., pp.93, 100-102. Mikhail Nikitich Muraviov, Zhizn' Nikolaia Aleksandrovicha L'vova. Manuscript. Russian National Library, fond 499, N 77.

One of the main ideas outlined by Rousseau in his publications was the concept of the 'natural man' unspoilt by the influence of civilisation. The writer pictured the ideal 'nascent society' in which people lived in simple 'huts', made their living by farming and possessed property on a limited scale.⁵⁴⁰ Rousseau's works were well known in Russia and produced a significant impact on intellectual life.⁵⁴¹ For example, much of the literature about Russian peasantry was inspired by Rousseau. Russian peasants, who in their majority formed an agricultural community, had a property of a sort⁵⁴² and were unaware of the sophisticated urban culture, were compared with the uncivilised people invented by Rousseau. However, the difference between the Russian reality and Rousseau's concept of the ideal rural society was that Russian peasants were victimised by unjust social order and lived in misery. For instance Alexander Radishchev's A Journey from St.Petersburg to Moscow contains a description of a serf family dwelling which makes one shudder:

For the first time I looked closely at all the household gear of a peasant hut. <...> The upper part of the four walls, and the whole ceiling, were covered with soot; the floor was full of cracks and covered with dirt at least two inches thick; the oven without a smoke-stack, but their best protection against the cold; and smoke filling the hut every morning,

⁵⁴⁰ Discours sur les sciences at les arts. 1750, published in Russian in 1767, 1787 and 1792; Discours sur les origines de l'inegalite. 1755, published in Russian in 1770 and 1782.

⁵⁴¹ See: Yuri Lotman. 'Russo i russkaia kul'tura' ('Rousseau and Russian Culture'). Izbrannye Statii. (Selected Papers.) Tallinn: 'Alexandra', 1992, vol.II, pp.40-99.

⁵⁴² Catherine II in the Nakaz (Instruction) to the Legislative Commission, 1767, pointed out the necessity of the guarantee of peasants' property. See: Yuri Lotman. op.cit., p.62.; Bezborodko's Memorandum Concerning the Needs of the Russian Empire, 1799 not only stated that 'the condition of the peasants is such as to require improvement' but also stressed the peasant's limited right for property. See: Mark Raeff. Plans for Political Reform in Imperial Russia, 1730-1905. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966, pp.71-72.

winter and summer; window holes over which were stretched bladders which admitted a dim light at noon time; <...> A trough to feed the pigs and calves, if there are any. They sleep together with them, swallowing the air in which a burning candle appears as though shrouded in mist or hidden behind a curtain. <...> in the yard a bath house in which the cattle sleep if people are not steaming in it.⁵⁴³

L'vov must have seen similar scenes of the squalor of peasants' life during his numerous journeys between the two Russian capitals and while he was visiting Valdai, Torzhok and Tver which were also described by Radishchev as areas of serfs' suffering. L'vov's determination to introduce good quality housing into rural areas was intended to rectify the situation and should be considered as an attempt to restore the primeval happiness of the countrymen. For example, a farm designed for Kursk region in the south of Russia should have provided high quality accommodation for a peasant's family: the complex incorporated two living spaces with large windows and stoves with chimneys, a lobby, a store room, one shed for carts and trimmings and another for cattle, poultry, underground cellars and a barn all grouped around a spacious rectangular yard. (Plate 197) The influence of Menelaws on that design is found not only in its regular plan with the main house in the front range similar to the layouts of the British model farm, advocated by Isaac Ware, Daniel Garrett and other architects and theorists,⁵⁴⁴ but also in the fact that the central arch above the main entrance with twisted supports reminds one of the porch of the cottages in Tiukhili and

⁵⁴³ Alexander Nikolaevich Radishchev. A Journey from St.Petersburg to Moscow. English translation by Leo Weiner. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1958, p.220.

⁵⁴⁴ Daniel Garrett. Designs of Farm Houses...1747; Isaac Ware. A Complete Body of Architecture. 1756. For a discussion of farm layouts see: J.M.Robinson. op.cit.

Charlestown. L'vov also paid particular attention to the improvement of heating systems and described the process of building stoves with chimneys both in the instruction to the graduates of the School of Earth Construction (See Appendix 3) and his book Ruskaia Pirostatika.

A considerable number of the designs for the reserve barns illustrated in the album of earth buildings and intended for providing emergency help to the peasants during the years of poor harvest is a direct reference to the idea suggested by Rousseau in his article 'Political economy' written for the French Encyclopaedia and translated into Russian in 1777 and 1787. That idea was adopted by enlightened Russian landlords and was particularly propagated by The Free Economic Society of St.Petersburg, a non-government organisation aiming at introducing progressive methods of agriculture into Russia. For example, in 1766 Count Roman Vorontsov published in the Works of Free Economic Society (Trudy Vol'nogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva) an article 'On introduction of spare bread' ('O zavedinii zapasnogo khleba') in which he described his experience in building extra barns for his serfs. From 1767 until 1776, the Society awarded a special gold medal for establishing such barns and subsequently continued publishing articles on that subject, such as 'On reserve barns' ('O khlebnykh zapasnykh magazinakh') by E.B.Engel'man in 1794.⁵⁴⁵ L'vov must have known about such innovations, because he co-operated with the Free Economic Society. For instance in 1796 he submitted his account on earth

⁵⁴⁵ Yuri Lotman. op.cit., pp.47, 72, 88.

construction for publication in the society's journal.⁵⁴⁶ The introduction of the reserve barns was a part of Paul's policy of relieving the burdens of the peasants.⁵⁴⁷

L'vov's insistence on the simplicity of both the material and decoration of his earth structures contains an allusion to the unsophisticated huts of the people of the 'nascent society' praised by Rousseau. However, another likely source for the primitivism of Menelaws and L'vov's earth structures is the treatise by Vitruvius. That book provided a notion of the emergence of architecture which was carefully studied by eighteenth century theorists. For example Sir William Chambers in the Treatise on Civil Architecture based his description of the origin of buildings on Vitruvius. According to Chambers the ancient men at first made their huts of a conic figure, but later the plan of the huts was changed to a rectangle. The walls were built of tree trunks with the intervals filled with branches closely interwoven and covered with clay, the roofs which eventually became raised in the middle were composed of many joists and covered with reeds, leaves and clay. Chambers pointed out that from such a simple construction the orders of architecture took their rise.⁵⁴⁸

The similarity between that eighteenth century interpretation of Vitruvius and L'vov's concept of earth construction is obvious. For instance the rectangular

⁵⁴⁶ Draft records of the Free Economic Society, RGIA, fond 31, opis 1, N57/1797, pp.170, 175a. However, L'vov withdrew that article and it was never printed.

⁵⁴⁷ Roderick E. McGrew. op.cit., p.257.

⁵⁴⁸ William Chambers. Treatise on Civil Architecture. op.cit., p.1.

layouts, pisé walls and thatched roofs with the addition of clay of L'vov's buildings probably embody his own version of Vitruvian story and bring one to the origin of architecture.

L'vov's interest in the initial stage of architectural development was already manifest in the design of the baseless Doric columns in St. Joseph's inspired by the temples in Paestum which were the earliest examples of the post and lintel type of construction a Neo-Classical architect could imitate. The earth structures represent further regress into the past: the simplest order of the columns was substituted by the primeval wooden trunks. L'vov expressed the same idea on the origin of columns in the text accompanying the translation of Palladio's treatise stating that astragal was initially a ring rammed onto a trunk to prevent it from cracking.⁵⁴⁹ The comparison between St. Joseph's and the earth buildings, i.e. the first and the last L'vov's structures, provides an example of the paradoxical development of his architectural thought: by adopting the latest philosophical systems, such as that of Rousseau's, studying recent art historical research, for instance the works by Winkelmann, and using technical innovations, such as the method of pisé, he strove to re-create the past. Such endeavours were not unusual during the epoch of the Enlightenment and provided the bases for Neo-Classical art and architecture.⁵⁵⁰ It is important to take that idea into account in order to understand the project of earth construction as an example of the 'reverse' development of L'vov's architecture.

⁵⁴⁹ Nikolai L'vov. 'Ot izdatelia russkogo Palladia.' op.cit., p.42.

Another source of inspiration for the earth buildings designed by L'vov and Menelaws were Cameron's pavilions in the park at Pavlovsk, such as the Dairy constructed in 1782. The pastoral and Picturesque quality of that design commissioned by the Grand Duchess Maria who wished it to be 'rural' and 'simple'⁵⁵¹ is inspired by Rousseau's ideas of the primitive happy society. Not only Paul and Maria but also the family of the Grand Duchess were interested in the writings by Rousseau: for instance her uncle Prince Ludwig-Eugene of Wurtemberg was a correspondent of the philosopher.⁵⁵² Cameron's preliminary designs for that structure are similar to the primeval huts illustrated by Chambers: the walls of the Dairy are depicted as being formed of the tree trunks with a filling of wood and mud. (Plate 198) The walls of the Dairy as it is built are faced with large stones, the thatched roof rests on wooden trunks that reminds one not only of the earth structures but also of the buildings on the estates of Vasiliovo and Nikolskoe, such as the 'Devil's bridge' and the smiths, which were designed by L'vov and built of rough stones. L'vov probably saw the Dairy already in the beginning of the 1780s when he was laying out the garden in Alexandrova and Menelaws must have seen that building while he was engaged in the work at the School of Agriculture in Tiarlevo.

Cameron's Dairy belongs to the type of farm buildings which was wide-spread in eighteenth century Britain and provided the field for experiments in the primitive architecture. For example John Soane's designs for the dairy in Hammels Park,

⁵⁵⁰ Hugh Honour. *Neo-Classicism*. Penguin Books. 1968, p.126.

⁵⁵¹ Galina Koz'mian. op.cit., p.124.

⁵⁵² Yuri Lotman. op.cit., pp. 57-58.

Hertfordshire, conceived in 1781 and realised in 1783 display the features similar to L'vov's and Cameron's rustic buildings: the pillars of tree trunks with the bark on and honeysuckle and woodbines planted at their feet, plastered walls of pebble stone, thatched roof and projecting ends of rafters. (Plate 199) One of the sources of inspiration for Soane's dairy was the notion of a primeval manmade habitation elaborated and illustrated by Abbe Marc-Antoine Laugier in Essai sur l'architecture, 1755.⁵⁵³ (Plate 200) As already indicated, this treatise might have been known to L'vov. An interpretation of the idea of the primitive dwelling is also found in the Gatchina album. One of the drawings illustrates a thatched structure made of wooden logs, elevated above the ground on trunks and set in the landscape in a Picturesque manner: it is located near a river and surrounded by trees. (Plate 201)

However, unlike the garden follies at the park at Pavlovsk L'vov's earth buildings were intended for practical use. The earth structures if they had been disseminated throughout Russian countryside would have changed both the character of the landscape and the quality of life of the peasants. A similar idea had already been advanced in the project of the colonisation of the provinces in the south of Russia and the Ukraine which were added to Russian Empire in 1774 after the war with Turkey. Prince Potemkin who was in charge of that endeavour founded new towns and villages and attracted thousands of people to settle in the huge and scarcely populated area. In 1787, Catherine II undertook a trip to the New Russia in order to inspect Potemkin's achievements. The Empress

⁵⁵³ Pierre du Prey. op.cit., p.248.

was followed by foreign ambassadors and L'vov was among the courtiers who accompanied her.⁵⁵⁴ Comte Segur, the French ambassador, was astonished by the view of 'the towns and villages, country houses and rustic cabins' which 'were so adorned and disguised with wreaths of flowers, elegant architectural decorations, that they created the illusion of superb cities, suddenly erected Palaces, gardens produced by magic'.⁵⁵⁵ The ambassador also noted that the halting places of the galleys in which Catherine travelled down the river Dniepr were located before a village or some picturesque settlement. Huge herds on the pastures and peasants greeting the Empress created the impression of the happy and prosperous life in the new lands. Such idyllic pictures were perceived with scepticism by some and an ungrounded rumour was circulating that the villages were made of cardboard and the nicely dressed peasants only concealed the miserable reality.⁵⁵⁶ In reality Potemkin villages represent the first large scale adaptation of the Picturesque in Russia: they embody both the pastoral and make-believe qualities fully developed in English aesthetics. Gould was probably involved in engineering that spectacle: he is known to have worked for Potemkin in the south of Russia and the Crimea and had hundreds of assistants to design the 'instant gardens' during Catherine's tour.⁵⁵⁷ Gould must have known of the experiment in Milton Abbas designed by his teacher Capability Brown and probably used that example in his work on the

⁵⁵⁴ M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit., p.9.

⁵⁵⁵ Quoted in: Isabel de Madariaga, Catherine the Great. A short history. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1990, p.88.

⁵⁵⁶ Isabel de Madariaga, Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great, op.cit., p.371.

⁵⁵⁷ John C. Loudon. An Encyclopaedia of gardening... London, 1824, p.57. Anthony G. Cross. 'Russian gardens, British gardeners'. op.cit., p.15.

model villages for Potemkin.⁵⁵⁸ L'vov's project of earth construction was undoubtedly influenced by the idea of Potemkin villages.

After the assassination of Paul in 1801, the School no longer had official patronage and started to decline. The new authorities considered the project as yet another of the late Emperor's whims and were sceptical about the usefulness of pisé. The local governors stopped sending peasants to the School and in 1803 Menelaws reported to L'vov that there were no students to teach. Following the death of L'vov in the same year, the School was closed and earth structures were no longer built.⁵⁵⁹

The composition of the earth cottages was further elaborated by Menelaws in the designs of the park of Alexandria in Peterhof created as a rural retreat for the wife of the Tsar Nicolas I. For example, Menelaws used the motif of the loggia in the east and west facades of the Cottage Palace (Kottedzh) built between 1826 and 1829. (Plate 202) The Palace, constructed in ordinary masonry, was commissioned by the Tsar Nicolas I who requested that the architect produce an imitation of a picturesque English house. Menelaws chose to imitate his previous designs for the model cottages in Moscow based on British examples, such as the Easter Cottage and the illustrations by Middleton.

⁵⁵⁸ John C. Loudon. *op.cit.*, p.57. Loudon pointed out the continuing relationship between Brown and Gould, for instance he claimed that the layout of the park at Pavlovsk was produced by Brown from a description sent to him by Gould. *Ibid*, p.56. No evidence has so far been uncovered to support that statement.

⁵⁵⁹ Menelaws's letter to L'vov of 28 November 1803, RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, N 50, 1797, p.50; RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, N 104, 1804, p.9.

The concept of model villages elaborated by L'vov and Menelaws gained considerable popularity during the nineteenth century. For instance, such villages were designed to create an impression of an ideal environment near the Imperial residences in Peterhof, Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk. In 1830 in the vicinity of the Cottage Palace, Menelaws completed a farm which comprised a number of structures grouped around a one-storey pavilion designed in the rural style, which was completely rebuilt on a much grander scale and turned into a Palace by Andrei Shtakenshneider from 1838 through the 1850s. Shtakenshneider incorporated a two-storey loggia with a pointed attic window above it into the east facade of the Palace which faces the similar motif in the west front of the Cottage Palace. (Plate 203) The gallery on the south facade was supported by columns decorated with the bark of birch trees and the pointed windows above were projecting through the roof painted to imitate thatch.⁵⁶⁰ (Plate 204) That combination of the loggia and the colonnade was probably inspired by the earth cottages in Tiukhili which the architect may well have seen in 1836 during his visit to Kolomenskoie, the Tsar's ancient residence situated in the vicinity of the former L'vov's School and marked on the map by Ivanov.⁵⁶¹ There is every reason to believe that Menelaws's cottages were still standing in the 1830s: a hundred years later a few earth structures were reported to have been on the site.⁵⁶² The simple decoration of the facades with rustication on the corners and

⁵⁶⁰ T.A.Petrova. Andrei Shtakenshneider. Leningrad: Lenizdat. 1978, p.80.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid, p.20.

⁵⁶² The last earth buildings were demolished in the 1930s during the construction works at the Likhachiov car plant. M.V.Budilina et al. op.cit., p.169.

the cornices over the windows as well as the pointed dormer windows of other structures designed by Shtakenshneider for Alexandria, such as the new farm built in 1855, also seem to have been influenced by Menelaws's buildings.

The analysis of the designs produced by Menelaws, L'vov and Shtakenshneider makes it possible to suggest that writings of Uvedale Price on the Picturesque may have influenced the development of the concept of model villages in Russia.⁵⁶³ Price hailed the combination of the grand mansion-houses with villages redesigned by the landlords in the Picturesque style. According to him, the main features of such settlements were assymetry in layout combined with the simplicity and diversity of forms of the cottages decorated with chimneys of various types, porches and climbing plants. Other Picturesque motifs advocated by Price included towers, churches, battlements, spires, trees and waters. However, Price was strongly in favour of improving the conditions of living in real villages and towns and not building settlements just to please the eye of a monarch. For instance, he denounced 'the sham towns and villages made to divert the Emperor of China; in which the various incidents of real life <...> are acted by Eunuchs'.⁵⁶⁴ In Russia, as it was described in the famous account of Marquis de Custine, who visited Alexandria at the invitation of Tsar's family in 1839, the progressive ideas adopted from the West served only to represent the

⁵⁶³ Uvedale Price. An Essay on the Picturesque as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful and on the use of studying pictures for the purpose of improving real landscape. London, 1810. Previous editions: 1794-1798, 1796-1798, pp.342-363.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.344-345, footnote.

rulers in a better light and contributed little to the improvement of the life of people.⁵⁶⁵

The complex of Alexandria is an example of the Russian interpretation of the idea of the model village. It included the Cottage, the farm, a Gothic chapel designed by Karl Shinkel and built from 1831 until 1834, a well emphasised with a Gothic canopy and other structures. Similar to Menelaws's tribute to Russian vernacular architecture in the design for the poultry yard in the School of Agriculture Shtakenshneider built a 'Small rural house' in the park in 1858 which was constructed of wood and decorated with carving in the traditional Russian style. The peasants who were employed on the farm and worked in the park were dressed in red shirts to enhance the Picturesque effect. The design of the park of Alexandria has a number of British analogies, for instance the village laid out by Lord Ongley at Old Warden in Bedfordshire from the 1830s which featured thatched cottages with prominent dormers, red painted doors and windows while the inhabitants, by aid of red cloaks were made to harmonise with their dwellings.⁵⁶⁶ Shtakenshneider's visit to England in 1837 for the purpose of studying architecture explains the consistency of English influence on the designs for the park of Alexandria.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁵ Marquis de Custine. *La Russie en 1839*. Paris, 1843.

⁵⁶⁶ David Watkin. *The English Vision*. op.cit., pp.185-187.

⁵⁶⁷ T.A.Petrova. op.cit., p.25.

CONCLUSION

This investigation uncovers the role of L'vov as a leading architect in the late eighteenth century Russia. L'vov contributed to the evolution of Russian architecture by promoting the ideas of Palladianism, both in his designs and by the publication of the first book of Palladio's treatise. The analysis of the Cathedrals of St. Joseph and Sts. Boris and Gleb as well as the house in Nikolskoe demonstrated that L'vov's Palladianism evolved under the influence of Quarenghi and Cameron, who transferred to Russia Palladio's principles of the simple, symmetrical and harmonious architecture as well as the ideas of the Palladian villa and country house elaborated in Britain. For example, the Cathedral of Sts. Boris and Gleb in Torzhok is based on the composition of the villa Rotonda, which was imitated in Britain in several structures by Lord Burlington, Colen Campbell, Isaac Ware and other architects and adapted by Cameron for the function of the ecclesiastical building in the Cathedral of St. Sophia. The design of the villa Rotonda, based on the harmonic ratios and perfect geometric forms, such as the square and the circle, decorated with temple porticoes and incorporating a rotunda inspired by the Pantheon symbolically embodied the divine microcosm and was therefore suitable for the Cathedral. Cameron used the composition of this villa in the palace at Pavlovsk, which L'vov imitated in his own house in Nikolskoe. However, the layout of L'vov's house was also influenced by Quarenghi, who may have transported to Russia the designs for Wardour Castle, Wiltshire built for eighth lord of Arundell by James Paine from 1768 until 1776.

L'vov and Menelaws adapted the forms of the British model farms, based on Palladio's designs, in the structures of the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture. For instance, the arrangement of the symmetrical plan of the farmhouse situated in the front range of the rectangular courtyard, popularised in Britain by John Plaw, Isaac Ware and other architects, was used in the main building of the School built from earth. Such a layout is based on the plan of Palladio's villa Pisani near Vicenza illustrated in the Quattro Libri. The buildings of the School stylistically corresponded with Quarenghi and Cameron's edifices in Sophia, Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk. L'vov also used motifs illustrated in the Quattro Libri in the designs for the Post Office, the Government Offices in St.Petersburg and the postal stations. These buildings emphasised that the authorities endorsed Palladianism as the official architectural style of the state. L'vov's designs demonstrate that he did not intend to produce exact imitations of Palladio's buildings. On the contrary, he modified Palladian concepts in the edifices, suited for the requirements of his clients and the peculiarities of each commission.

L'vov's designs also demonstrate how Palladian tradition was integrated in Neo-Classical style. Such a synthesis was revealed by the discussion of the origins of the Greek Doric introduced in St.Joseph's, which reflected the latest European trend to emulate archaic architecture of the Greek temples at Paestum and Athens. L'vov explored the origins of architecture in the designs for the pyramids and edifices built to imitate primitive structures, for example the cavern decorated with gigantic stones used as the smithy in Nikolskoe.

L'vov was particularly interested in the Neo-Classical idea of pure form, which he developed in the designs for the rotundas. The mausoleum in Nikolskoe and the church of St. Catherine in Valdai were based on the examples of antique and Renaissance architecture, such as the temples of Vesta in Rome and Tivoli and Bramante's Tempietto, as well as on Cameron's temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk. The experimental character of L'vov's architecture is emphasised by his design for the church of the Holy Trinity in Alexandrovskoe, in which the pyramid and the rotunda are juxtaposed.

The research into L'vov's architecture demonstrated that the development of Russian Neo-Classicism was an integral part of the pan-European process and was connected with the evolution of British, French and Italian architecture. Thus, the compositional innovations used by L'vov, such as the integration of the plan based on the Greek cross with the rotunda in the design for the Cathedral of Kazan Mother of God, are comparable with the experiments of Neufforge, whose engravings L'vov studied. The massiveness of the forms of the Nevskie Gates of the Peter and Paul fortress is reminiscent of the design for a prison by Delafosse, who expressed the function of the building by emphasising its weight and by binding the columns of the portico with stone slabs. Even if the designs by Delafosse may not have had direct influence on those of L'vov, it is necessary to discover such parallels in order to understand the common artistic aspiration which Neo-Classical architects developed in different parts of Europe.

The comparison between L'vov and Ledoux was particularly illuminating, since the two architects elaborated upon similar ideas. This was demonstrated by the

analysis of L'vov's design for the chapel on Vasileva hill near the estate of Znamenskoe-Raiok, which is strongly reminiscent of Ledoux's rotunda in the park of Monceau in Paris. The idea of the double-shelled cupola of St. Joseph's also had French origin: it was illustrated by Neufforge and used by Soufflot in the design for the church of Ste. Geneviève. However, the most likely source for L'vov's design is that for the royal chapel for the town of Colorno produced by Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot, who was educated by Soufflot and became the professor of architecture in the Academy of Parma, the centre in which French, Italian and British architects profited from exchange of creative ideas. L'vov's possible visit to Parma in 1781 supports the hypothesis that he was well aware of the web of inter-European artistic connections.

The comparative analysis which has been one of the main research tools of this thesis proved particularly fruitful in the consideration of L'vov's works in relation to those of Soane. Both architects belonged to the same generation, Soane, born in 1753, was two years younger than L'vov, and they were elaborating upon similar concepts. The comparison between the works of these two architects added weight to the idea that the evolution of Neo-Classicism in different European countries, including Russia, was an interdependent process and the ideas developed in major artistic centres of international communication between artists, especially Rome, had identical origin. The interpretations of several key buildings, for instance the Roman Pantheon and Vignola's Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, and the concepts derived from a number of essential publications, such as Peyre's *Oeuvres d'architecture*, determined the common direction of the development of the style of L'vov and Soane. Since Soane's

career, unlike that of L'vov, is well documented and the sources of Soane's works are better known, it was possible to find the origin of L'vov's ideas by assuming that his way of creating the style was not dissimilar to that of his English contemporary. For instance, such a method of comparative analysis was instrumental in identifying L'vov's sources of inspiration for the designs for the Government Offices in St.Petersburg, while the analysis of Soane's design for the castello d'acqua produced for the Academy of Parma in 1780 clarified the sources of St.Joseph's.

The analysis of the contacts between the architect and his clients made it possible to argue that L'vov's embrace of the advanced Neo-Classical style was more than a tribute to European fashion and had ideological underpinning. This style based on the architecture of antiquity was uniquely suited for the expression of the 'Greek Project', the plan of liberating Constantinople from the Turks, which was one of the most profound concerns of Catherine the Great throughout her reign. L'vov was chosen by Catherine and Bezborodko to become the Russian counterpart of Charles Cameron: both architects were entrusted with the same task of expressing the 'Greek Project' in architectural forms. Such a challenging mission led L'vov to adopt the avant-garde Neo-Classicism and Palladianism in the designs for St.Joseph's, Sts.Boris and Gleb's and the Cathedral of Kazan Mother of God. These public buildings were designed by L'vov as mighty propaganda tools. Such a form of indirect persuasion of people through the symbolic architectural forms of public buildings was probably intended to enhance the impact of the official ideology.

L'vov's designs demonstrate that the motifs derived from European architecture were modified to convey the ideas of the triumphant Orthodoxy and Russian patriotism. For example, in the Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb, L'vov combined the concept of the Palladian villa with the motif of five cupolas, a traditional feature of Russian Orthodox architecture. The proliferation of this composition throughout Russia in the designs of Starov, Rodion Kazakov and Quarenghi was to emphasise the purposes the Russian society was expected to achieve. The ideological content is also evident in the design for the Cathedral of Kazan Mother of God. The need to express the concept of the 'Greek Project' and the notion of St.Petersburg as the inheritor of the role of the Third Rome was identified as the main reason for the synthesis of the motifs of the Greek Cross and the rotunda inspired by the Roman Pantheon. The significance of L'vov's idea is emphasised by the fact that such a combination was subsequently used by Alexander Vitberg in the designs for the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, the embodiment of the concept of the triumphant Russian Empire. The discussion of the Cathedral of Kazan Mother of God also revealed that the image of Constantinople, crucial for Russian political propaganda, was reconstructed according to the rules of Palladianism and examples of ancient Roman architecture.

During the reign of Paul I, L'vov worked on the projects aimed at implementing the monarch's ideas of the just and technologically advanced but politically conservative society, able to compete with revolutionary France. The concept of the dissemination of earth construction in Russia was a part of Tsar's policy to improve the living conditions of lower classes by introducing the modernised

method of construction. The architect's turn from Neo-Classicism to the forms inspired by Medieval architecture in the designs for the Kremlin Palace and the Priorat served the Emperor's idea to revive the traditional order in the society. Thus, the assessment of L'vov's interpretation of the political concepts opens up a new chapter in the history of architecture in the service of the state.

L'vov had a high social status of a gentleman-architect: he was an employee of the Collegia of Foreign Affairs, a respected participant in the circle of leading Russian intellectuals, such as the literary scholar Alexei Olenin, the poets Gavriil Derzhavin, Vasilii Kapnist and Ivan Hemnitser, and a protégé of the monarchs and highest state officials, such as Bezborodko and the Vorontsov's. Such a social position placed him in the centre of Russian political and cultural life. His projects reflect metaphysical, political and mystical ideas, popular among his contemporaries. For example, the design for the Administrative Offices was linked to the discussions of the usefulness of grand edifices for the state and the relationship of art and society in the late eighteenth century Russia, elaborated by Radishchev and Arkhip Ivanov. The public area of the park of Bezbordko in Moscow was influenced by the idea of the peculiar 'republican' character of the city, hailed by Karamzin and other L'vov's contemporaries. The connections were also elaborated between the writings of Rousseau, whose influence on L'vov, Radishchev and other Russian intellectuals was very significant, and the project of the dissemination of earth construction in Russia. Indeed, L'vov and Paul's philanthropic ideas were probably shaped by Rousseau, while the concept of pisé developed by the French architect Francois Cointeraux aimed at creating the improved version of the most ancient building technique, which may well

have been used in the nascent society described by Rousseau. The idea of the origin of the art of building in the habitations of the primeval people was elaborated by Abbe Marc-Antoine Laugier in his influential Essai sur l'architecture, 1755, which may well have been known to L'vov and influenced his designs for 'primitive' structures.

The hypothesis of L'vov's involvement in Freemasonry was put forward in order to explain the uncommon combination of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders and the mysterious effects of lighting in St. Joseph's as well as the motif of the pyramid of flowers covered with water in the grotto below the 'Upper Monument' in the park of Bezborodko in Moscow. Although no decisive evidence of L'vov's participation in a Lodge has yet been discovered, his contacts with prominent Russian Freemasons, such as Ivan Elagin and Zakhar Chernyshev, make the connection between L'vov's designs and Freemasonry plausible.

Several L'vov's designs, such as those for the Priorat, earth cottages and gardens, represent considerable influence of the Picturesque, derived from Cameron's concept of the park at Pavlovsk and other British sources, for instance the designs for cottages published by Charles Middleton and the writings of Uvedale Price. For example, the relationship between the Palladian house and service buildings with the landscape in Nikolskoe was compared with Cameron's way of integrating the house and garden pavilions in the setting at Pavlovsk. In the designs for the 'morning and afternoon promenades' in the park of Bezborodko,

L'vov used a continental interpretation of the Picturesque, elaborated in the treatise of Hirschfeld.

L'vov's essay accompanying the designs for the park of Bezborodko is one of the pioneering theoretical works on gardening in Russia, which offered an original solution to the problem of the 'national' garden, posed by Hirschfeld and other theorists. L'vov's concept of the park encapsulated Russian political history of the eighteenth century with the special emphasis on the reign of Catherine the Great and the contribution of Bezborodko to the fulfilment of the 'Greek Project'. The ideas of Russian militarism embodied in the 'afternoon promenade' were to influence people, thereby preparing them for the accomplishment of the authorities' political aims.

The study of L'vov's contacts with his clients and the investigation of the style and sources of his designs made it possible to trace the development of his work and to establish the main phases of his creativity. Indeed, the period from 1780 until 1787 was characterised by the flow of Catherine's commissions for public buildings, such as St. Joseph's, the main Post Office in St. Petersburg, Sts. Boris and Gleb's, the designs for the Cathedral of Kazan Mother of God and the Administrative Offices for St. Petersburg. During this period, L'vov developed his style, in which he synthesised various influences ranging from antique sources, Palladianism of Cameron and Quarenghi to Neo-Classical innovations of Petitot and his students at the Academy of Parma and the compositional devices of Vignola.

The lull in the royal patronage between 1787 and 1796, which probably occurred due to the difficulties experienced by Bezborodko at the court, led to L'vov's concentration on private commissions, such as the designs for the house of Derzhavin, dachas of Soimonov and Kapnist in St.Petersburg, ensembles of country estates near Moscow, such as Voronovo and Vvedenskoe, and in Torzhok region, such as Nikolskoe and probably Znamenskoe, Mitino and Vasiliovo, and others. In these designs, L'vov continued to interpret Palladian compositions, combined with the French idea of the convenient planning popularised by Neufforge. L'vov elaborated his concepts of the rotunda in the designs for ecclesiastical buildings, the pyramid in the designs for the service buildings in Nikolskoe and Mitino as well as in the church the Holy Trinity at Alexandrovskoe, and the 'primitive' structures included in the Picturesque landscapes of the country estates.

The last period of L'vov's activity in the field of architecture corresponded with the brief reign of Paul I from 1796 until 1801. L'vov's work was particularly fruitful before 1799, the year of Bezborodko's death. L'vov's designs for the Priorat, other earth buildings and the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture, the park of Bezborodko in Moscow and the project of the Kremlin Palace indicate the tendency to combine Neo-Classical principles with the ideas of the Picturesque and romanticism. Such a stylistic shift was also examined in the works of other architects, such as Adrean Zakharov and Vincenzo Brenna, who worked for Paul simultaneously with L'vov. However, L'vov not only designed imitations of the Medieval structures, but also produced in collaboration with Quarenghi the first illustrated study of the architecture of ancient Moscow,

in which the value of the Medieval architecture was emphasised. This essay as well as the project of the reconstruction of the Kremlin Palace, which was integrated in its Medieval environment, contrasted with the attempts by Bazhenov to redesign Moscow according to the rules of Neo-Classicism during the reign of Catherine.

However, the co-operation between L'vov and the major Moscow architects Kazakov and Bazhenov on the rebuilding of the Slobodskoi Palace also resulted in the fruitful exchange of ideas, which manifested itself in the works of L'vov and Kazakov. For instance, L'vov's version of Neo-Gothic was probably influenced by the Tsaritsyno and Petrovskii Palaces, built by Bazhenov and Kazakov. The plan of the Slobodskoi Palace produced by Kazakov imitated the layout of the Post Office in St.Petersburg, while Kazakov's introduction of the double-shelled cupola in the Golitsyn hospital may also have been influenced by L'vov.

The investigation of the story of earth construction uncovers a new link between British and Russian architecture. David Cunningham, John Cochrane and Menelaws introduced to Russia the traditional Scottish methods of thatching and earth walling and used them in combination with the French technique of pisé. A number of the designs for earth buildings, such as the cottages illustrated in the Gatchina album, the Barracks in Torzhok and the buildings in Tiukhili are based on English and Scottish sources and should be attributed to Menelaws. With the Scots in charge of all the projects of earth building undertaken by L'vov, the Scottish contribution to the development of earth construction comprised a

unique collaboration on an innovative architectural project in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Russia.

In fact, Menelaws contributed to L'vov's major projects: Menelaws was responsible for the engineering of the triple-shelled cupola of St. Joseph's and supervised the construction of this Cathedral as well as Sts. Boris and Gleb's and possibly the church of St. Catherine in Valdai, the structures in Nikolskoe and other estates near Torzhok, such as Mitino. Menelaws subsequently reused the ideas elaborated in collaboration with L'vov in his own designs. For instance, the layout of the house in Nikolskoe was reinterpreted in that of the Palace of Piotr Razumovskii in Moscow, while the motif of the loggia used in the model cottages in the School of Earth Construction in Moscow was imitated in the Cottage Palace at Peterhof.

This investigation demonstrates that the history of Russian architecture of the end of the eighteenth century needs reexamination. The new approaches to studying this topic were indicated in this analysis of L'vov's works and may be used in reassessment of the creativity of other Russian Neo-Classical architects.

APPENDIX 1

IN WHAT WAY THE GARDEN OF PRINCE BEZBORODKO IN MOSCOW
SHOULD BE LAID OUT

The garden of Prince Bezborodko in Moscow due to its convenient and rare location should have in its character if not something grand, then at least something new. That garden is situated in the centre of a large city and should not just respond to its greatness, but also serve as a rich frame to the magnificent house, which represents its picture, and, therefore, cannot be any other but architectural and symmetrical.

However, because the space of the plot allows one to decorate some parts of it in the natural taste, then it is also possible to include at the sides some rural beauties, to combine those with urban magnificence and to soften the cold rectangle of architecture with their lively niceties and circular outline. This is the task which the garden architect has set for himself! and for its execution in practice it seemed possible to him to reconcile the teaching of two opposed artists, Kent and Le Nôtre: to enliven the cold uniformity of the latter, who for the sake of magnificence suppressed the nature under the straight line, with lively and diverse beauties of the creator of English gardens, and to put into one picture the garden of splendour and the garden of pleasure.

In order to fulfil this double purpose he decorated the entire hill in front of the house in the taste of the symmetrical and architectural garden <and laid out> three terraces, which <he> decorated with a grotto, steps, cascades, statues, etc.,

mixed those with the greenery of selected trees⁵⁶⁸ and, having created movement in this part of the hill by running waters, made it the dynamic pedestal for the house, which should animate the entire area in front of it. Thus <he> linked the qualities of both gardens, so that their imperceptible division is more visible on the plan than in the garden itself.

To this end he chose the younger sister of symmetry, having left the older on her throne in Holland with her wasteful sceptre made of scissors, with which she disfigured myrtles, palms and even cypresses and turned trees into bears, pyramids, dolphins and filled our gardens with green motionless monsters, which became neither a stump nor a tree.⁵⁶⁹ According to her law of the arshin⁵⁷⁰ which diminishes the space by half, any road in the garden should find for itself one's sister, pair and comrade, and one half of the garden is nothing else but the

⁵⁶⁸ Here, in the French text there is an addition in brackets: 'some of them are evergreen'; and the footnote indicates: 'As, for instance, *Pinus balsamifera*, *Pinus Picea*, *Taxus*, *Tuya Occidentalis*, *Juniperus vulgaris*, *Pinus Cembra*, *Pinus cedrus*, etc.'

⁵⁶⁹ Here, in the French text there is a footnote:

A collection <of trees> of that kind was to be sold some time ago. It would be a little late to attempt to purchase it. Here, however, few examples from among the most outstanding: 'Adam and Eve of yew; Adam is somewhat damaged by the fall of the tree of Good and Evil, damaged by a huge thunderstorm. Eve and the snake are in very good condition.

The Noah's Arch of holly; at the sides in fairly bad condition due to the lack of water.

The Tower of Babel; it is not yet finished.

St. George of box; his arm is not yet long enough, but he will be able to kill the dragon in April of the next year.

An old maid of honour of a warm eaten tree.

A pig of a cut bush, which turned into porcupine, since it was left under the rain during one week.

⁵⁷⁰ Russian measure, equivalent to 71cm.

repetition of the other half, so that having seen the first, no one would like to see the other. The artist⁵⁷¹ followed the kind of symmetry, which by means of the uniformity of the exterior parts eases the comprehension for the viewer, however, it allows diversity in detail.

THE LAYOUT OF THE SYMMETRICAL PART OF THE GARDEN

On top of the hill in front of the house and in accordance with its width, a square is made with the spirit level proportionate to the size of the house. In the middle of the square, on the pedestal of rough stones stands a colossal statue of a deity, which was benevolent to the owner; on its rectangular socle, philanthropic and heroic deeds are sculpted; and the pedestal which represents a natural mountain has four openings, through which the altar of gratitude is visible; <the altar> is covered on all four sides by transparent water screen, the movement of which multiplies the brilliance of the fire set on the altar in the days of festivities and imparts to it a certain appearance of mystery and sanctity. Ten Doric columns situated around the monument and holding the same number of incense burners on top form the balustrade near the monument. These incense burners are connected by civil and military wreaths, which serve as the substitute for the parapet on the cornice.

⁵⁷¹ The word khudozhnik can be translated into English both as 'an artist' and 'a painter'. The use by L'vov in his essay of the terms 'khudozhnik' and 'arkhitektork' to indicate his role as a garden designer corresponds with his intention to introduce both the picturesque and the formal styles into the design of the park. However, the use of the term 'artist' in this English translation seems to be justified due to its broader meaning, while the term 'painter' might have been misleading, since L'vov was not a painter.

The waters falling from the pedestal of the temple are collected into a marble basin, which occupies the interior of the circular temple, from which they are further conducted to a grotto where <they> form a water mountain, covering the three ledges of a pyramid of flowers. A double stone flight of steps on the both sides of the grotto is its entrance, and the exit to the second terrace is through a semicircular rusticated arch. That grotto is lit by two fire-places made as imitations of caves; however, one seeks coolness in grotto and the fire in the fire-places would have contradicted that purpose, if it was not covered with the water curtain, so that it illuminated, and not heated the structure. The second terrace in front of the grotto has semicircular form; there are wide descents from it on the both sides, and its centre is decorated with steps, divided into three access flights by four pedestals, on which sculptural groups and statues stand. Because the height of the pedestals is only a half of that of the steps, the lower part of the flight in front of the pedestals is decorated with natural caves, from which the waters falling from the grotto are flowing like natural springs, <then they> form a brook and flow across the entire plain, which occupies the part of the garden below the hill, and eventually flow into lower ponds.

The ponds decorated the previous garden, which will be substituted by the new garden. Those strange ridiculous paddles were dug up all over the place. In order to avoid expenses of filling them with earth the artist turned some of them into rivulets, the others were given the natural form of small lakes; there remained only two main ponds located in the lower part of the garden: one of them is large and rectangular, another one is oblong. Those ponds divided from each other only

by a narrow stretch of land, gave the artist a completely new idea to revive the magnificence of ancient gymnastic games. He turned the rectangular pond into a semicircular Naumachia and in order not to overload it with too much architecture he made only the steps of the amphitheatre and the porticoes of squared stone; <he> used trimmed greenery to make a gallery which includes arbours and forms a half-covered avenue, in which <he> put vases and statues in the arches. Two corners of the pond left behind the amphitheatre and enclosed by woods serve as wharves for the ships used for various games in the Naumachia. Opposite the amphitheatre, at the two front corners, two rostrum columns are erected, iron tripods on top of them serve as beacons to illuminate the games when they are performed at night. In general this structure is convenient both for the illumination and fireworks. In summer, it is designated to water games and pleasure rides in gondolas, and in winter, it serves as a skating ring. The second pond which had the oblong form is turned into aquatic Likea, on which boat races in small gondolas are organised; the watermarks which divide the tracks are made of various trophies and indicate naval victories. The name of the victor and the day of the victory are inscribed on their pedestals; a hippodrome for horse racing is situated around the aquatic Likea. One day a week is designated for this competition and young men who like such an exercise gather in great numbers to enliven that structure, otherwise it would have been dead and similar to other our garden buildings, which bear the appearance and the name of a thing, but have no relation to its use, and a stranger deceived by their exterior is not pleased, but disappointed, having found a shed in the temple of Apollo, and rubbish and dampness instead of a humble hermit in the hermitage.

On the narrow stretch of land dividing the hippodrome and the Naumachia, two triumphal gates are built, through which athletes are passing before the games commence. By the sides of those <gates>, semicircular colonnades support cupolas and together with the gates form one common temple of the glory both for the heroes of land and sea⁵⁷², whose busts are located in the centre of the semicircular structure. Covered places in that building are designated for referees, who should award the trophies to the champions, and for the honorary spectators.

Both these structures, the hippodrome as well as the Naumachia have nothing superfluous or useless. All their parts co-operate for the common purpose and when they are not enlivened by the presence of the games a visitor observes in their architecture mixed with the greenery something new and magnificent, and having examined the statues and inscriptions he would find by chance in the garden of the private person as in the patriotic Pantheon the history of the century in the monuments erected to the sons of the fatherland.

THE LAYOUT OF THE NATURAL GARDEN

Beforehand, art served grandeur and magnificence, from now on every effort is made to hide it under the artless beauties of nature. Other parts of the garden include solitary and open promenades designated to all parts of the day.

Sanctuaries and arbours of different kinds are located in such places, from which the visitor can see meaningful objects deserving his attention. Those objects

⁵⁷² L'vov's footnote: 'On the right side <is an effigy of> Count Rumiantsev-Zadunaiskii facing the hippodrom; on the left <that of> admiral Greig <facing> the Naumachia.'

would not have attracted anyone's attention in the open horizon, but the optical location of trees, through which they are shown to the visitor, embellish their appearance, transferring them so to speak from <a distance of> several versts⁵⁷³ to the very limits of the garden.

An elevated area located on the right side of the house is designated to the morning promenade. The carpet of the sweet-scented turf spotted with flowers and flower bushes surrounded from three sides with nice and fragrant woods, constitute the main beauty of that morning promenade, protected from the afternoon side by a grove of selected trees, which shelter the visitor, however, do not obstruct his view of the surrounding sights. That part of the garden is designed in cheerful, but quiet and tranquil taste, corresponding to the morning time; there is no movement in it except that of the leaves. It is decorated by an aviary built at the end of the meadow and in front of the house, and because the view from that structure is straight over the Kremlin, an open arch is made in the back wall of the room in the middle, used as a hall for having breakfasts. Several trees scattered on the meadow interlaced with ivy, hop and other such creepers complete the picture of that humble sanctuary.

From there the visitor walks by a path laid through a dense forest to a valley enclosed from all sides. A small lake originating from a spring and situated in the middle of the valley is overshadowed by a splendid bush of old willows. That solitary, melancholic, but not uncultivated place is in every respect opposite to

⁵⁷³ Verst - old Russian measurement, equivalent approximately to 1.06 km.

the morning promenade and is used as a bathing place. On the left side of the house, which differs from the other <areas> by its abundance of flowing waters, the afternoon promenade is laid out. Walks leading to it lay through a wood and grass plots, on which in sunny days the falling shadow protects the turf and multiplies the beauty of the meadow. The waters of the upper springs are collected in one small lake, from which <they> flow as a brook through the valley and refresh the coolness of it; the same waters being turned into natural rapids and water-falls in the dense and overshadowed places, enliven with their murmur despondency and quietude of that sanctuary.

Finally, the brooks flowed together in a valley and formed a stretch of water of considerable size; having been augmented by spring floods they damaged the aqueduct, through which waters were directed to the temple of Neptune, destroyed a part of its architecture: the steps turned into a water-fall, and the pedestal of the temple <turned into> a mill. The wheel of mill fixed to the wall of the temple lifts the water for a conservatory and multiplies with its movement the sound of the falling water, thereby making the ruin of the temple and the aqueduct credible, <and> forming a cascade both heroic and rustic, which animates with its noise and coolness the entire promenade designed for afternoon walks. Although the paths laid both in the meadows and in the wood are protected from the sun, <they> are illuminated at some places by <the sun> from different sides, and are, therefore, dissimilar to those stifling and damp passages, in which there is neither light nor air. The paths are situated in such a way, that the visitor is always in the shadow, however, <he> is continually enjoying various aspects of the sunshine on the meadow and on the waters.

The evening promenade is more extensive than the others, the entire lower area across the garden is allotted for it. Wide and sometimes straight roads are overshadowed by large trees, between which are different arbours and kiosks scattered in the wood or near the water, <which> interrupt the uniformity of the straight line. The owner, <who> likes to share his delights, assigned that part of the garden for public pleasure-ground, to which the access is from both sides. The main entrance from a large street is a semicircular square surrounded with a covered colonnade, in which different shops sell haberdashery, sweets, fruit etc. all that adds the character of a festival or, better still, a fair to the pleasure-ground, which otherwise would have been silent and dead; there is the dwelling of the door-keeper here, and on the other side, there is a source of clean and healthy water; this source gave income to the previous owner of the garden: neighbours paid a certain sum yearly for the permission to use his water; now this water will be lifted by pumps to a filter machine and from there conducted through taps onto the street and given to the use of those who need it. At the other gates to the garden, facing the other street, a coffee house in the taste of Turkish kiosk is built, in which various cold drinks as well as sweets and ice-cream can be found. In the middle of the house, a large hall is assigned for dancing in case of sudden rain or bad weather. Next to it there is a room decorated in Turkish taste with a large and magnificent divan, from which dancers can be seen through a moving net of sparkling waters forming a veil in the wide arch in the wall, which separates the room from the dancing hall.

In general, while laying out this garden, the artist avoided trifling details and tried to compose it of small number of important parts in order to preserve the character, which is grand and suitable to the location. To interrupt uniformity by contrast, to connect contrasting motifs with harmony and paths, of which the turns and bends are made not according to the caprice of the gardener, but everyone of them has its intention and cause, and if the visitor is sometimes compelled to make a circle in order to reach an object appealing to him, then his extra steps will be rewarded with new and unexpected pleasure, which a straight road would have deprived him of.

All garden structures (which are few) decorate such places, where they are as necessary as they beautiful.⁵⁷⁴

THE UPPER MONUMENT

The bronze colossal statue having the stone mountain as the pedestal and an entire temple of Doric order instead of railings, forms this upper and principal

⁵⁷⁴ The French text ends here. It is concluded with verses from the fourth part of the poem Les Jardins, ou l'art d'embellir les paysages (Paris, 1782) by Abbé Delille:

Point de cos édifices, prodigués par la mode,
 Obélisque, Rotonde et Kiosk et Pagode
 Ces bâtiments Romains, Grecs, Arabes, Chinois,
 Chaos d'Architecture et sans but et sans choix,
 Dont la profusion stérilement féconde
 Enferme en un jardin les quatre parts du monde...
 Surtout du mouvement: sans lui, sans sa magie
 L'esprit désoccupé retombe en léthargie.

monument. On its socle, the bronze reliefs about philanthropy and heroism are sculpted.

Waters lifted by a steam engine under the socle of the statue form four water veils and serve instead of crystal to the fire set on the altar of gratitude inside the cave.

This falling waters are collected into the circular marble basin, which occupies the middle of the temple, and from there, as if from a common source, are distributed through both open and underground routes for the benefit of the garden.

The columns, the frieze and the cornice of the temple, according to the wish of the owner, are commissioned of Siberian jasper and agate, Count Choiseul-Gouffier⁵⁷⁵ accepted the responsibility to make those; the incense burners over the pillars are of bronze; of the same metal are the civil and military wreaths, forming the parapet between the incense burners.

The columns are commissioned <to be made> of three sections, that is the lower smooth part, the fluted upper <part> and the capital.

⁵⁷⁵ Count Marie-Gabriel-Florent-August Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817) - French diplomat and connoisseur of antiquities, the president of the Academy of Arts during the reign of Paul I, until 1800.

On the exterior frieze above every column, where there will be the junction of the stones, bronze sacrificial bowls with proper bas-reliefs for the masking of the joints are attached.

On the cornice are two bronze carvings.

A. Socle.

B. Ara gratitudine, the altar of the gratitude.

C. The pedestal forming the top of the wild mountain.

D. The bronze incense burners serving instead of pedestals, between which the civil and military wreaths form the parapet.

E. The marble basin into which the waters are collected and distributed over the entire garden.

F. Three steps separating the temple from the horizon, of unpolished granite, from which the interior platform of the temple is also made.

THE UNDERGROUND STRUCTURE

I do not use the word grotto for the underground hall, because in Russian grotto is cave, but a cave in my opinion cannot be a correct structure. The structure, which is called grotto in regular gardens, is made in a hill or sometimes, God forbid, on an open place with columns, <they> decorate it with statues, shells, gravel and mica and never visit it, I think really because few of such structures serve the function, for which they are built: those structures can rather be called shelters from heat, temples of coolness and the like; but the name does not mean

anything, when the object itself contradicts its purpose. In the grottoes built in the open air, it is as hot as in any stone booth; the shells, gravel and mica have no majestic power to cool the air, and in the grottoes, built under the ground, eternal dampness and mould will break anyone of looking for coolness where one finds a chill, because the walls of those underground structures, I do not know by what strange negligence, are frequently built right against the ground; brick or stone will impregnate with the usual dampness and the air, which is in vain heated in the grotto built on a hill, here is not permitted to enter as an intermediary between the ground and the structure to dry the underground grotto, and, therefore, I separated with great care my underground structure from the ground.⁵⁷⁶

NO.1 PLAN OF THE UNDERGROUND HALL

- a. The underground hall.
- b. b. The fire-places.
- c. c. The special shelters from heat.
- d. The reservoir, on which flowers are placed on ledges, covered by water veils and forming the mountain marked with the letter 'e' in the cross section
- No.2.
- f f. Descents to the grotto.

NO.3 THE FACADE OF THE UNDERGROUND HALL

- g. The upper monument.

⁵⁷⁶ L'vov's footnote: By means of natural ventilators, setting the air in motion between the wall and the hill, and in such a way I separated the dampness from the structure.

- h. The upper terrace.
- i. The balustrade of the upper terrace.
- k. The steps from the upper terrace to the square in front of the monument.
- l. The descents.
- m. The second square in front of the underground hall.
- n. The group and the statues decorating the descents in the two lower terraces.
- o. The trees in the tubs on the terraces connecting the architectural garden with the natural.
- p. Caves through which the waters fall from above into the river.
- q. Bridges over the river.

THE AVIARY

Varro left us the plan of an ancient aviary⁵⁷⁷: according to his description, that structure was similar to a circular temple, decorated with statues and covered with a cupola, which was supported by eight Ionic columns in the exterior: inside, columns of different order, no smaller in size than those in the exterior, supported the cornice, above which a thin net was stretched confining the birds to the lower part of the structure, <that> did not allow them to fly through the opening made in the centre of the vault. That vault, as Mr.Pingeron adds⁵⁷⁸, was painted with the colours of the sky and embossed with golden stars, engirded with the copper shining Zodiac upon which the moving gilded sun indicated the

⁵⁷⁷ L'vov's footnote: In his work on agriculture.

⁵⁷⁸ L'vov's footnote: Lettres de Brutus sur les chars anciens et modernes à Londres.
MDCCLXXI.

hours. In the opening of the vault, two iron beams were laid crosswise, in the centre of which an iron rod put upright had an attached Siren, which turned around and indicated the wind. On the podium of that structure, a fountain was gushing to a certain height, around it on iron legs, fixed in the middle of the fountain and decorated with gilded leaves, was a round moving table with a hole in the middle; when supper was given in the aviary only one slave served the entire table, turning it in such a way that the dishes themselves reached the guests. Inside the table was an empty space, which was filled with warm water let out through taps for the use. In the waning time of the Republic Lucullus and Crassus also added to those conceits small tubes concealed in the vault, through which at the will of the host fragrant rain fell onto the guests; in that manner, continues Mr. Pingeron, the reach and powerful of this world, whose greatness displayed itself equally in deeds and amusements, used all ways of the nature and the arts for their enjoyment.

The ancient Varro's legend, with which I acquainted myself today⁵⁷⁹, may have been the reason why the builders of new gardens probably considered it a common rule to make aviaries if not like a temple, then at least like magnificent chambers, and to put into the cage without a twinge of conscience all sumptuous architectural decorations, such as columns, statues and vases.

⁵⁷⁹ L'vov's footnote: Having made the hyppodrom in the garden, it was necessary to think about chariots; Abbé Florantin brought me the book *Lettres de Brutus sur les chars etc.* in which the French imposter said nothing on what he advertised in the title; but after the story of how many people were crushed by carrigies in Paris, he gives an opinion in what manner a promenade should be made and mentions the aviary described by Varro. Page 234.

Although I have the sacred deference to antiquity, I cannot so far convince myself that the magnificent buildings would be akin for accommodation of birds. The immensity of the house seems to me incompatible with its trifling tenants. Columns and statues are uncomfortable roosts for them, and the hapless bird's song reverberating under the magnificent vault somehow reminds me of an abandoned monastery, in which sparrows serve the mass, and besides, the flying hosts over the heads of the guests may have necessitated Luculluss's fragrant rain.

If the liberal arts were not so dependant upon the tradition, I would never build in the natural garden an aviary similar to humans' house, not to mention God's temple. In Versailles, in Peterhof and other symmetrical gardens, they have a place where the nature serves the measuring stick and the birds can sing from music; but in a natural garden, for those who want to listen to them in the rural simplicity, the delights of which are recalled by the songs of the birds, I would have built simple aviaries according to their place and purpose. A ruin braided with a net in the forest near a brook or a watering place, a shack or any rustic shed near to some trees braided with a net, trees tied over a flowing water and a small cave nearby or something like that would form my aviary. Such structure would not contradict the location and the function, and their song would be more pleasant for the ear if the captivity of the imprisoned singers is well disguised. But in the middle of Moscow, on the elevated open place, nearby the magnificent house, an aviary of this kind would be inappropriate, and for that reason I have designed the aviary in the accepted traditional taste, with only one peculiarity: I separated the singers from the listeners, otherwise they would have disturbed

each other. I located the hall in the middle, designed for breakfast and supper, between two choruses living behind the net in the open gallery, which can be listened to by the connoisseurs sitting in two niches designed in such a way that completely different songs are heard in any of them, though the listeners not only can see but also talk to each other. This simple magic is performed with a simple device: in the arches of the niches, behind the cornice, small holes are concealed, in which the sockets of iron pipes are fixed, while their other ends are installed in the nests of the birds and, under the arch, iron funnels are made precisely in the place where the birds build nests, so that the draught coming through these holes into the hall and delivering the voice triples it under the vault of the cupola. Having opened or closed a number of the holes, it is up to the host to make his birds sing louder or quieter.

The gilded sun and the Sirens indicating the winds would impress anyone nowadays with their mechanics no more than the chiming clock on the Spasskaia tower, and, therefore, in this case I saved myself from the sin of imitation, and although it would not have been very difficult to restore those ancient wonders, I was afraid that the imitation would be laughable, representing to us in the brick heavens a puppet comedy, in which the gilded Sun playing the leading role deserved a place in the history.

The water-fall in the middle of the round table was certainly a good decoration and, moreover, it was appropriate, because while refreshing the air, it amused the guests with its movement, induced the hosts to sing and served them as a watering place, but since I separated the birds from the central hall and for their

watering two small cascades are made at the both ends of the open galleries, in which the birds are kept behind the net, the fountain seemed to me unnecessary, also because the water should have been conducted by machines.

In the plan, facade and cross-section the letters indicate:

- a. The round hall for the meetings.
- δ. Two niches for listening to the birds.
- B. The arch for the view over the Kremlin and beyond.
- Γ. The two open galleries covered with the net for birds, in the middle of which there are several fragrant flower beds and bushes.
- Δ. The cascades for watering of the birds.

APPENDIX 2

L'VOV'S METHOD OF EARTH CONSTRUCTION

(extracts from archival documents, articles, etc. on the techniques of earth construction used by L'vov)

Types of earth buildings: dwelling houses of two storeys, garden pavilions, summer-houses, temples decorated with columns, galleries, village churches, but the true purpose of that kind of construction is building of rural structures, such as dwelling houses of one and a half storeys and two storeys on cellars, various services, conservatories, workshops, peasants' cottages, granaries, barns, cattle sheds and solid durable fences. (Vedomosti; the sources are given in full below)

For the Emperor Paul I L'vov built a test structure: 'a corner of a peasant's hut with the foundation and the roof' (Stroitel')

Earth is unacceptable for building cellars and baths. (RGIA)

The method of building. Eight workers are sufficient to build a large earth structure: two builders stand on each corner. It is advisable to employ no less than two builders for an earth structure. (Vedomosti)

An earth building should be started as soon as the spring begins. (Vedomosti)

The material. Clay is not used in earth walls. Only pure earth is used which can be found anywhere or easily transported. No liquid is mixed into the earth walls. Neither wooden supports nor water are used in earth construction. The walls become more firm under the pressure of their own weight and solidity. They are

so dry that a drill extracts pure dust if a wall or a door is made which had not been indicated in the design. (Vedomosti)

The poor soil cleared of all weeds which is used for earth construction does not burn or freeze. (Vedomosti)

The fence and the porter's lodges of the Priorat are built of rectangular earth blocks rammed in a casing during bad weather and put together in the wall with lime. (Stroitel')

The foundations.

The foundations are built of rubble stone with lime. (RGIA)

The graduates of the School of Earth Construction were trained in building foundations of white stone and brick. (RGIA)

The walls. The walls of the first earth structure built by L'vov were 40 cm thick at the top. (Vedomosti)

L'vov's instruction to David Cunningham on how to build the earth tower of earth blocks in the School of Earth Construction: 'the stairs should be constructed together with the walls, octagonal frames made of wooden planks should be laid between every 6 or 8 layers, the frame should be resined and on it should be laid resined hemp, the blocks should be laid with a spirit level, there should not be empty space between them, they should be spilled on with a liquid and treated with small sharp crushed stone. (RGIA)

The fences built in the School of Earth Construction in Moscow were covered with turf. (RGIA)

Plaster. Earth buildings do not necessarily need to be plastered. (Vedomosti)

The interior side of walls around the Priorat is plastered with the ordinary coating, but the exterior side is left with no plaster in order to show the joints of the earth blocks. The interior side of the walls of the porter's lodges is plastered with the water of turpentine mixed with lime. The interior of the kitchen of the Priorat is plastered with in the ordinary manner, but the exterior is sprinkled with the water of turpentine and rubbed only onto the earth. The main building of the Priorat does not have plaster on the interior and exterior walls (except the windows), but the water of turpentine is rubbed onto the walls. (Stroitel')

A peasant appointed to do the plaster work in the Priorat was expected to plaster the even interior walls with double stucco with no alabaster in the 'English' manner with caws' hair. (RGIA)

L'vov considered possibilities of finishing the walls of the Priorat with boarding, stucco or painting. (RGAVMF)

The roofs. The first earth structure built by L'vov had a heavy clay roof. (Vedomosti)

The structures built by the graduates of the School of Earth Construction had either wooden or 'English' thatched roofs. (Album)

The thatched roofs in the 'English' manner were made with clay. (RGIA)

The roof on the Palace of the Priorat was made of metal. (RGIA)

L'vov also worked on the development of tarred roofing paper using British technology. The designs for a steam engine to produce that material are kept in RGIA.

Sources:

1. Vedomosti. 'Pribavleniie k Sanktpeterburgskim vedomostiam' (Addition to the newspaper 'Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti'), No 82, Tuesday, 13 October, 1797.
2. Stroitel'. 'Zemlianoie stroeniie v Prioratskom parke v Gatchine' ('An earth structure in the park of the Priorat in Gatchina'). Stroitel', No 24, December, 1895.
3. Album. The album with the depictions of earth structures built in different parts of Russia by the graduates of the School of Earth Construction. Presented to the Emperor Alexander I by Nikolai L'vov in 1801. Russian National Library. Department of Manuscripts. The Hermitage collection, No 262.
4. RGIA. The Russian State Historical Archive, St.Petersburg, fond 37, opis 11; fond 1285, opis 2.
5. RGAVMF. The Russian State Archive of the Navy, St.Peterburg, fond 198, opis 1, N 16, p.209.

APPENDIX 3

CERTIFICATE FROM THE STATE SCHOOL OF RAMMED EARTH
CONSTRUCTION TO THE MASTER NIKOLAI FEDOROV ISSUED IN
TVER REGION NOVOTORZSKII UYEZD VILLAGE NIKOLSKOE, 1803
SEPTEMBER 30TH (Abridged)

Certificate according to which the master is not responsible for the structure he is building and according to which he may alternatively be prosecuted.

NB Before commencing a building the master ought to find good earth, to ram a sample and to leave it to dry for two weeks and if it does not crack then to show it to the client and start the building.

The master of earth construction receives the full sum of money for the building and will not be liable to any charges if:

1. The earth test sample was good
2. The basement is laid deeper than the soil freezes, made with a trowel on lime and put up above the ground on half an arshin (35.5 cm)
3. On the basement laid straw on resin, the wall is set up for a low building by 14 vershok (61.6cm), and for a two-storey building by one arshin (71 cm) or by one arshin and two vershok (79.8 cm), the wall is erected with the spirit level, while on the basement with the square and the cord, the layers are rammed no thicker than one and a half vershok (6.6cm), the corners are greased with lime

4. A quarter of an arshin (17.75 cm) above and below the windows there laid in the corners resined ties made of thin planks or squares, above the windows and doors, planks are laid during construction
5. After the completion of the walls there laid a top made of tied planks and on it laid the joists
6. The rafters are hollowed into the joists and tied with bolts, but not laid on the walls.
7. The stove is made on 'chairs' or basement, but not on beams or joists, the chimney stands not on the ceiling, but on the stove
8. There is a sloping ditch dug around the structure, water is drained aside, and the thatched roof is made in 45 degrees

If the above instruction is followed nothing wrong can happen with the structure and the master is not responsible for any damage, particularly if he founded the structure on a firm ground, and not in a pit, swamp or springs.

On the contrary, the master of earth construction is liable for prosecution and charges

if he started the building not having produced a sample, the basement is laid dry or wet⁵⁸⁰ and is not dug deep enough, the layers are rammed thicker than 1.5

⁵⁸⁰ An earth building just like a stone or a wood building should not be constructed without a basement; and if the master has to construct a structure for chaff or a hay-loft, then having dried the wall properly he should apply to it hot resin inside and outside by one arshin (71cm) into and above the ground, and after that to ram clay in the ditch and make a mound of earth round the building. Often in hay-lofts mice gnaw the logs and to avoid it one should ram first 12 or 15 layers with the earth mixed with crushed glass and thinly cut mane, and for the sake of economy

vershok (6.6cm), neither the planks nor the squares nor the top of tied planks are laid during ramming, the walls are crooked, the joists are laid on the walls, the rafters and the roof are based on the walls, the stove is based on joists, water is not drained aside and the thatched roof is made flat.

(...)

1 vershok = 4.4 cm; 1 arshin = 71 cm

Source: RGIA, fond 1285, opis 2, 1797, No. 51, pp. 1-2.

of the material that mix should be laid only near the shields and have thickness of 4 vershok (17.6cm), while the middle part is rammed ordinarily.

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF NIKOLAI L'VOV
A STUDY OF THE ARCHITECTURAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
BRITAIN AND RUSSIA AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In II volumes. Volume II: Plates

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174. Adam Menelaws. Designs for the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture. From left to right: the stables, the peasant's cattle yard, the nobleman's cattle yard, the dairy. From: Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva. op.cit.
175. Adam Menelaws and Nikolai L'vov. Sketches of farm houses. 'The Gatchina album of Nikolai L'vov'.
176. Adam Menelaws and Nikolai L'vov. Sketches of farm houses. 'The Gatchina album of Nikolai L'vov'.
177. Adam Menelaws. Designs for the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture. From left to right: the veterinary clinic, the poultry yard, the smithy. From: Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva. op.cit.
178. Andrea Palladio. The Church of San Giorgio Maggiore. Venice. 1565.
179. Adam Menelaws. Design for the windmill for the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture. From: Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva. op.cit.
180. Adam Menelaws. Sketch of a farm with a windmill. 'The Gatchina album of Nikolai L'vov'.
181. Adam Menelaws. Sketch of a semicircular farm building. 'The Gatchina album of Nikolai L'vov'.
182. Steading. Kirchiaran, Islay, Argyll. Aerial view. Second half of the eighteenth century.
183. Nikolai L'vov. Designs for the Churches in Ananiino (facade elevation, section and plans) and Vyborg (facade elevation and plan). 1780s. From: M.V.Budylna et al. op.cit.

- 184.Nikolai L'vov. Stables in Mitino. Near Torzhok. 1790s.
- 185.Nikolai L'vov. The Church in Murino. Near St.Petersburg. Exterior view.
1786-1790.
- 186.Adam Menelaws. Design for the layout of the section of cattle-breeding.
From: Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva.
op.cit.
- 187.Carlo Rossi. Design for the model village of Glazovo. 1815. From: Marianna
Z. Taranovskaia. op.cit.
- 188.Adam Menelaws. School of Earth Construction in Moscow. Model cottages.
Water-colour. 1799-1802. The State Tretyakov Gallery. Moscow.
- 189.Easter Cottage. Charlestown. Near Dunfermline. After 1771.
- 190.Ivan Ivanov. The layout of the School of Earth Construction in Tiukhili.
Near Moscow. Drawing. From: A.N.Glumov. N.A.L'vov. Moscow: Iskusstvo.
1980.
- 191.Earth barn. Near Tula. Section, perspective view, elevation and plan. 1800.
The album of earth buildings, 1801. Russian National Library, St. Petersburg.
- 192.Daniil Ryndin. A house for the serfs of the landlord Veliaminov-Zernov built
in the village of Vorontsovo in Tver region. Section, perspective view,
elevation and plan. 1800. The album of earth buildings, 1801.
- 193.The earth barn in Perm' region. Section, perspective view, elevation and
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- 194.The earth dwelling house in Saratov. 1800. Section, perspective view,
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- 195.The sentry-box in Nizhnii Novgorod. 1800. Section, perspective view,
elevation and plan. The album of earth buildings, 1801.
- 196.Adam Menelaws. Design for the house of the miller for the School of
Practical Farming and Agriculture. From: Polozhenie prakticheskoi shkoly
zemledelia i sel'skogo khoziaistva. op.cit.
- 197.Adam Menelaws and Nikolai L'vov. Design for a farm for Kursk region.
Facade elevation and plan. Ca.1800. Russian State Historical Archive.
- 198.Charles Cameron. Preliminary design for the dairy at the park at Pavlovsk.
1782. Pavlovsk Palace museum.

199. John Soane. Designs for the dairy in Hammels Park, Hertfordshire, conceived in 1781 and realised in 1783. Variants of the facade elevation and plan. From: Pierre de la Ruffiniere du Prey. John Soane. The making of an architect. Chicago and London: The university of Chicago Press. 1982.
200. Abbe Marc-Antoine Laugier. The depiction of the imaginary primeval manmade habitation on the frontispiece of the Essai sur l'architecture, 1755. From: Pierre de la Ruffiniere du Prey. op.cit.
201. A drawing of a primitive dwelling. 'The Gatchina album of Nikolai L'vov'.
202. Adam Menelaws. The Palace of Cottage. Peterhof. Exterior view from the south-west. 1826-29.
203. Andrei Shtakenshneider. East facade of the Farm Palace at the park of Alexandria in Peterhof. 1838-1850s.
204. Andrei Shtakenshneider. The gallery in the south facade of the Farm Palace at the park of Alexandria in Peterhof. 1838-1850s.

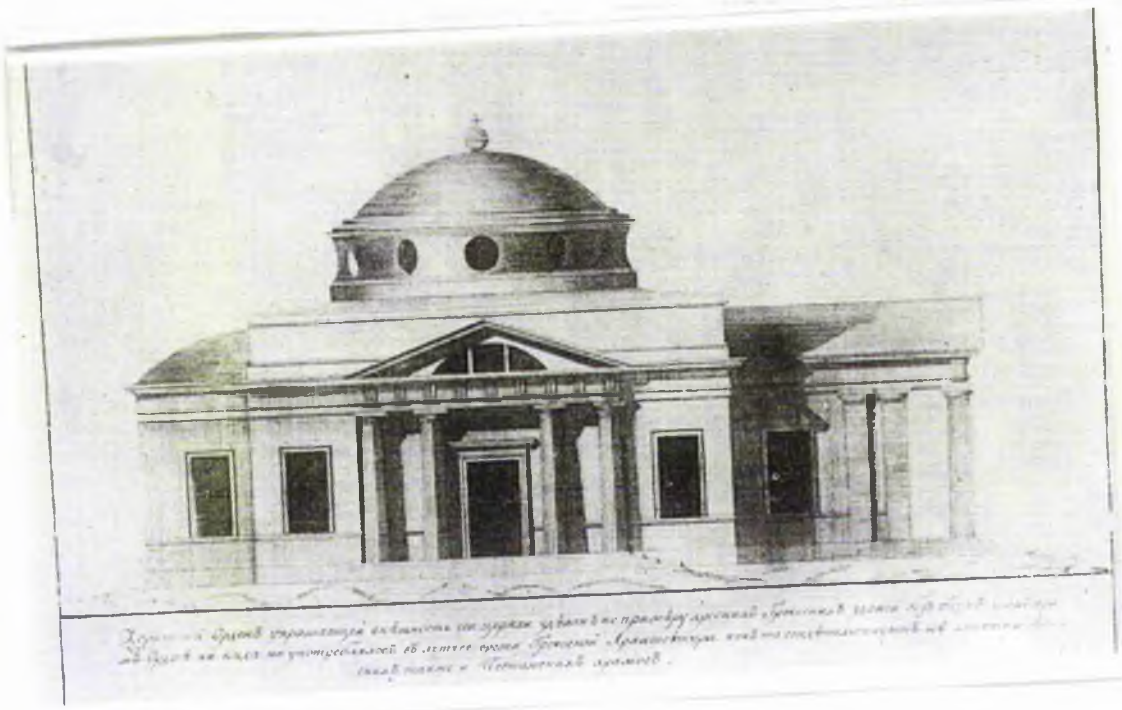
NOTE: The captions under each Plate are given in an abridged form. For the full description of the work including the source of the illustration see the List of Plates at the beginning of this volume.



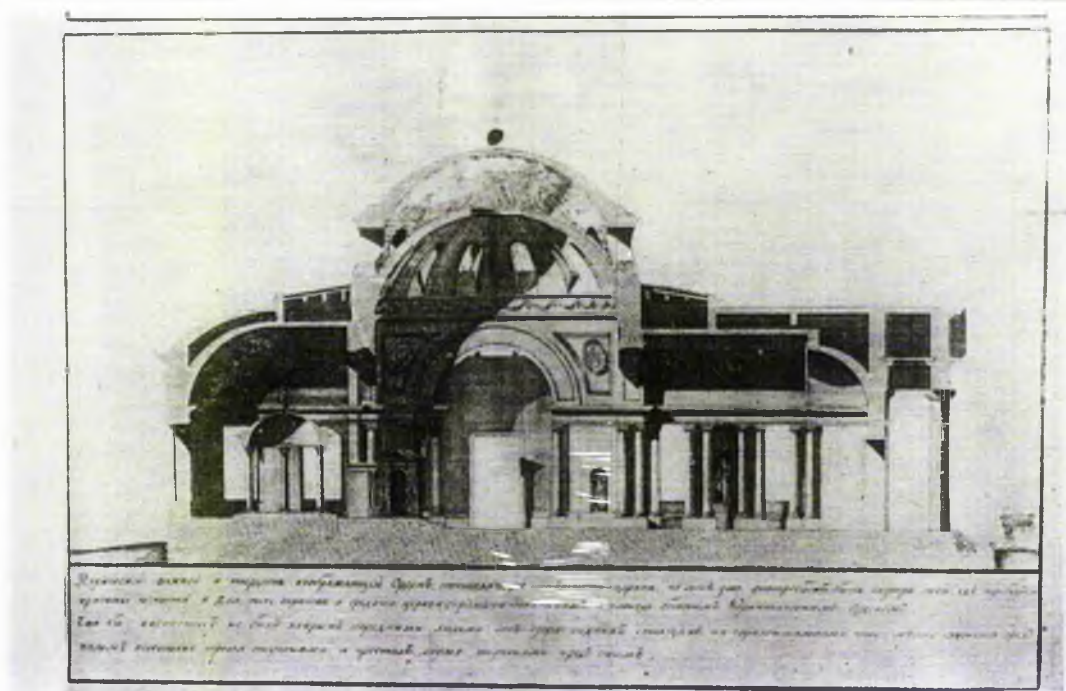
1. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of St. Joseph, Mogilev, Belorussia. West facade elevation. 1782.



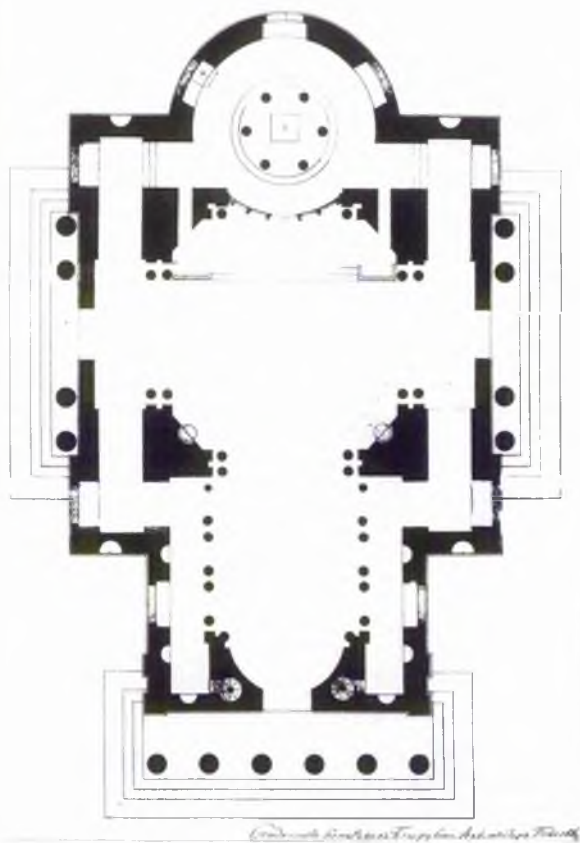
2. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of St. Joseph. North-south section. 1782.



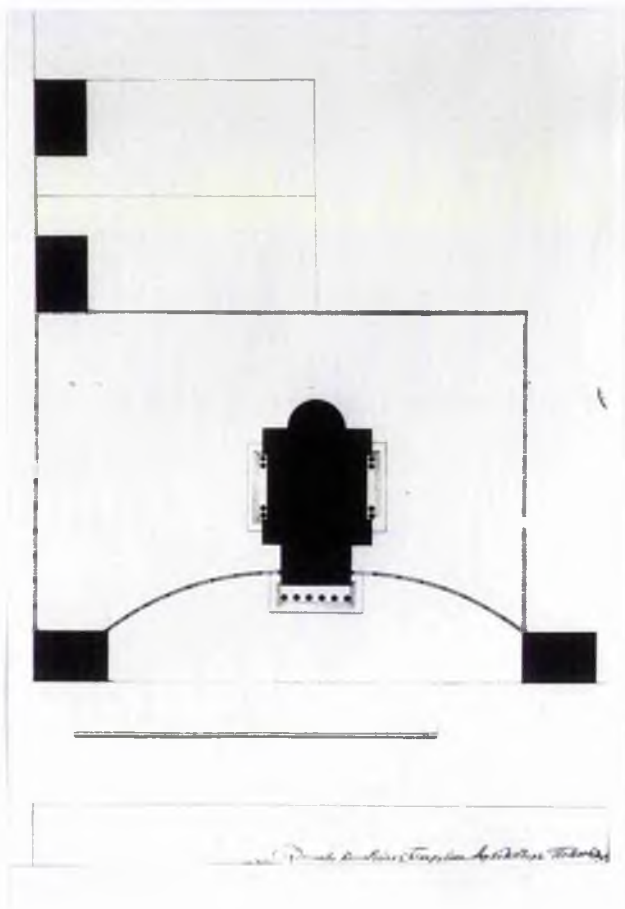
3. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of St. Joseph.
North facade elevation. 1782.



4. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of St. Joseph.
East-west section. 1782.



5. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of St. Joseph.
Plan. Copy by Pavlov. 1799.



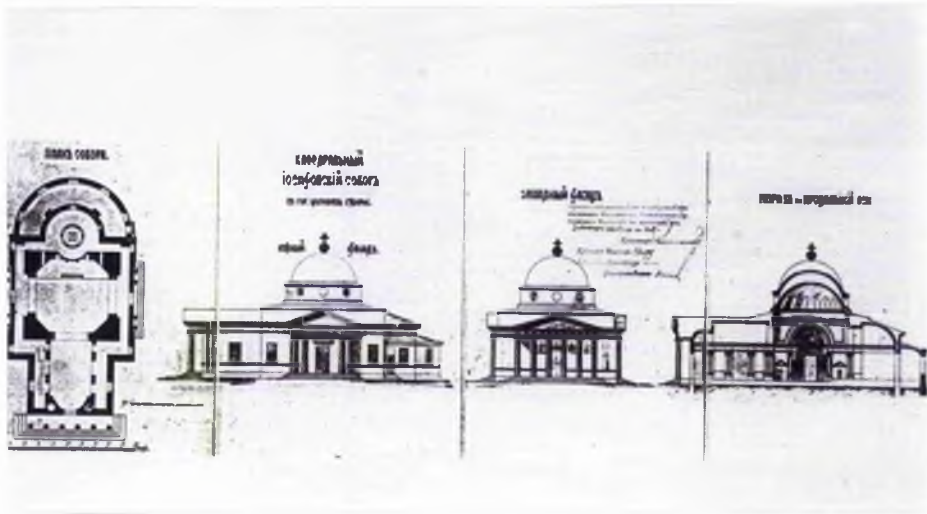
6. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of St. Joseph with outbuildings. Plan. Copy by Pavlov. 1799.



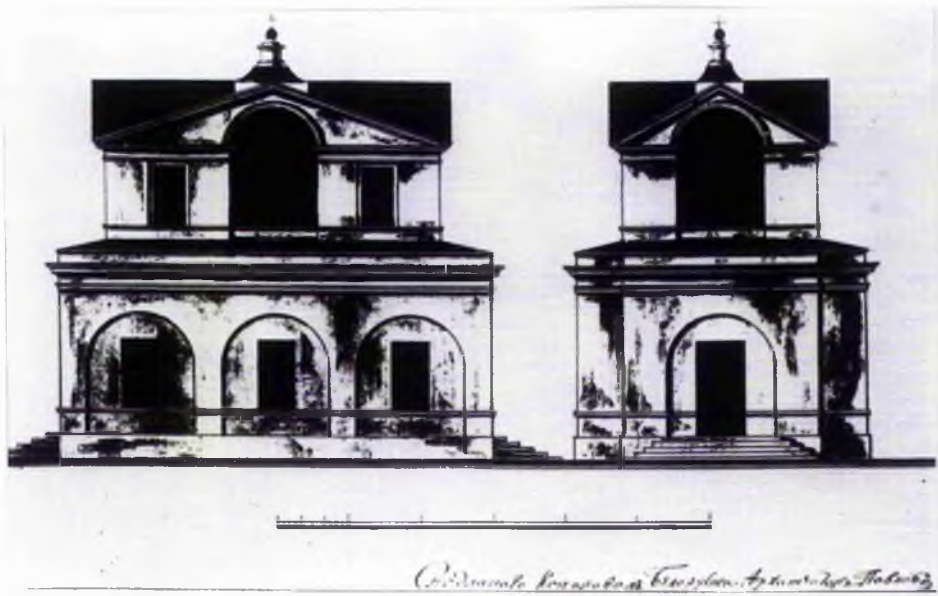
7. View of St.Joseph's and the square in the main street of Mogilev. Water-colour of the late eighteenth century.



8. A postcard with the view of St.Joseph's from the beginning of the twentieth century, before 1905.



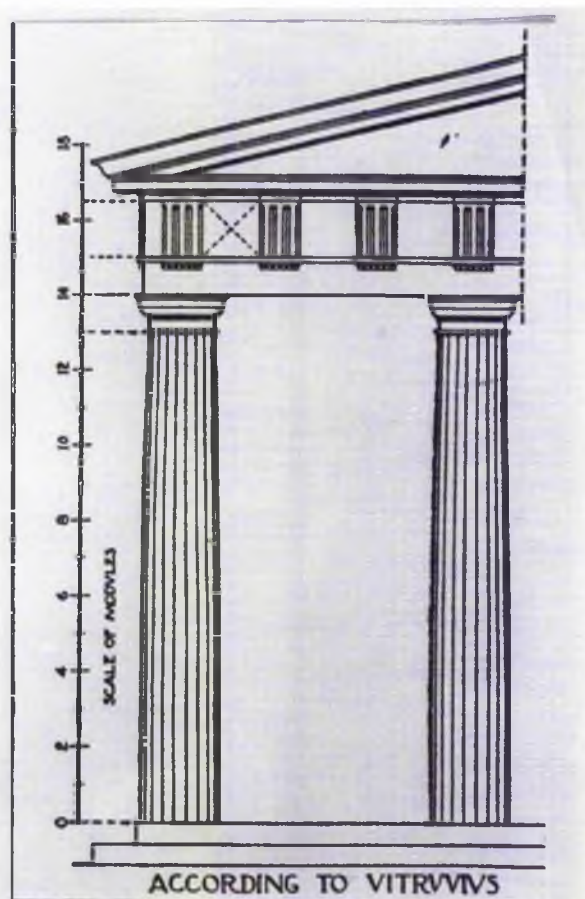
9. The design for St. Joseph's with the proposed enlargement of the altar section. Design of 1905.



10. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the outbuildings of St. Joseph's. Copy by Pavlov. 1799.



11. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of a building inspired by Palladio's Villa Rotonda. Drawing.



12. Doric order according to Vitruvius.



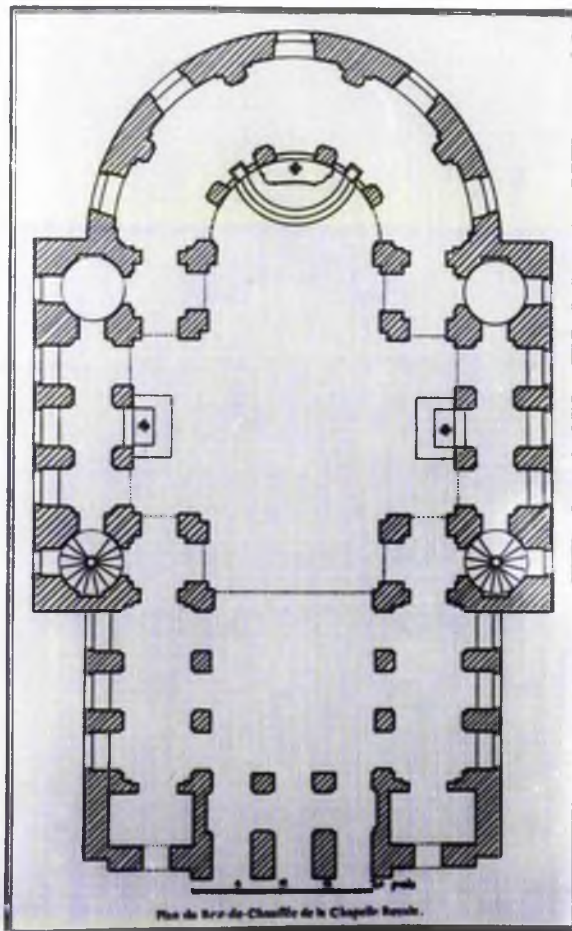
13.Charles Cameron. Design for the Temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk. Facade elevation. 1779-1781.



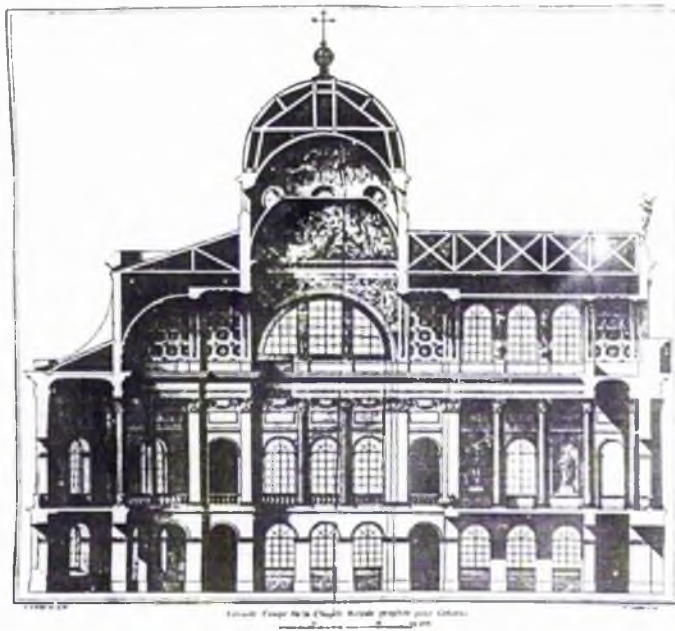
14.Auguste Cheval de Saint-Hubert.
Design for a castello d'acqua. 1780.



15. Nikolai L'vov. Title page of the book Rassuzhdenie o prospektive v pol'zu narodnykh uchilishch, izdal N.L'vov, sentiabria 10, 1788 goda.



16. Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot. Design for a royal chapel for the town of Colorno. Plan. Engraving.



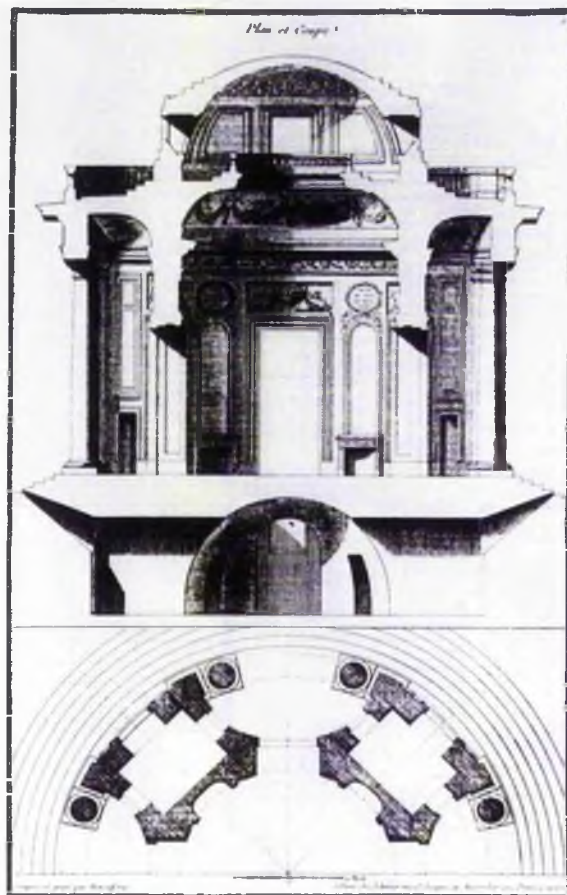
17. Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot. Design for a royal chapel for the town of Colorno. Section. Engraving.



18. Isidore Canevale. Cathedral in Vác, Hungary. 1763-1772. Facade elevation.



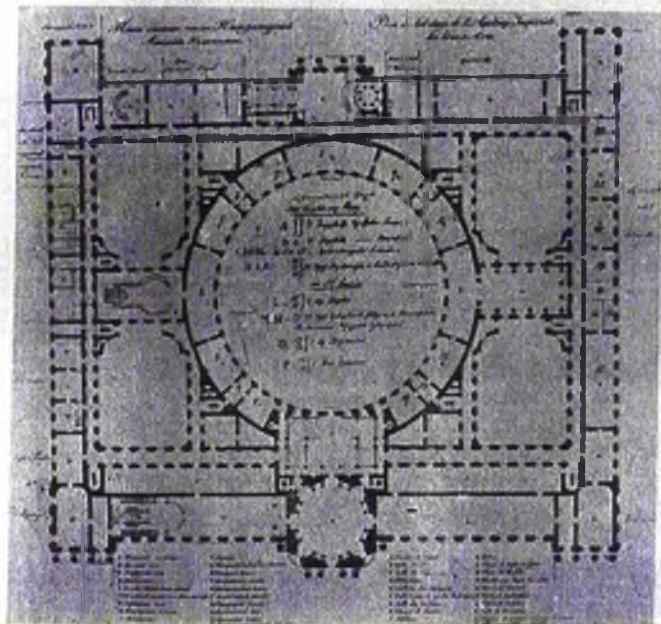
19. Pierre-Michel d'Ixnard. The abbey church in the Benedictine monastery of St. Blasius in St. Blasien, Waldshut, Germany. 1764-1784.



20. Jean Francois de Neufforge. Design for an edifice with a double-shelled cupola.



21. James Stuart. Elevational and sectional drawings, perhaps an early design for Nuneham church, Oxfordshire. Before 1764.



22. Alexander Kokorinov, Jean-Baptiste Michel Vallin de la Mothe. Design for the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. Main facade elevation and plan of the first floor. 1764-1788.



23. Antonio Rinaldi. Marble Palace, St. Petersburg.
1768-1785.



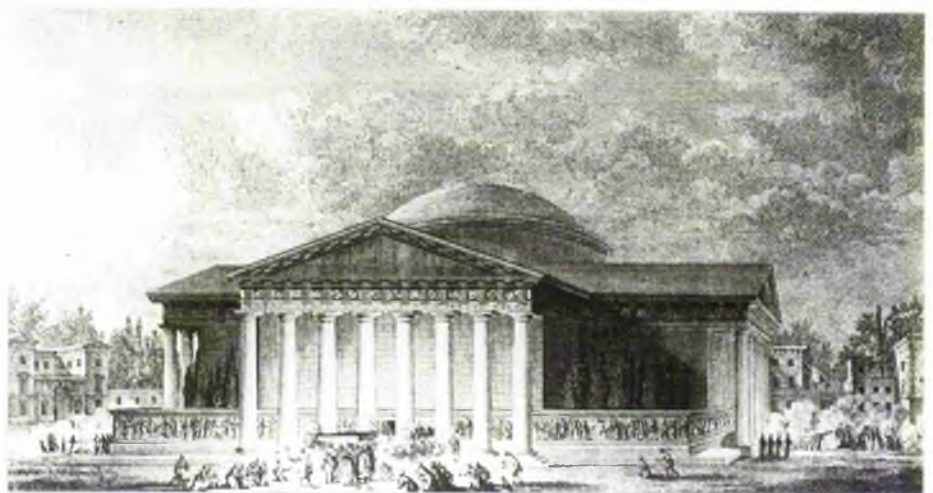
24. Charles Cameron. The Agate Pavilion. Exterior view.
1780-1787.



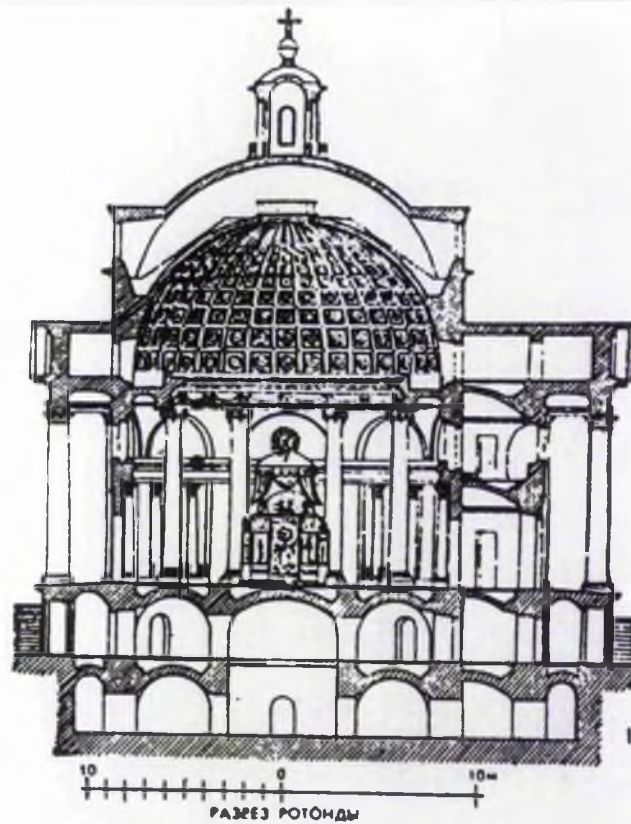
25. Charles Cameron. The Agate Pavilion. View of the interior of the central hall. 1780-1787.



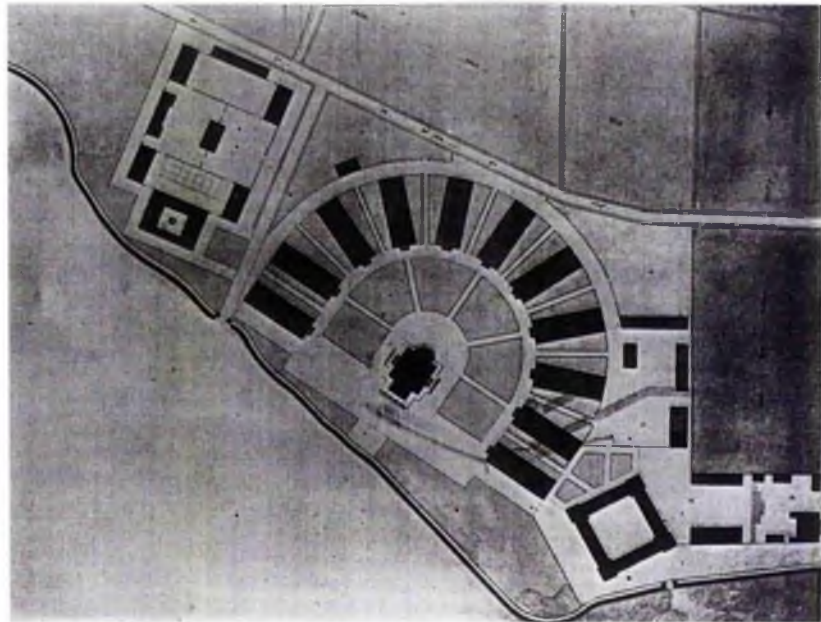
26.Ivan Starov. Cathedral of the Trinity, Alexander Nevskii Monastery. St.Petersburg. Plan and facade elevation. 1776-1790.



27.Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Perspective view of the church for the city of Chaux. 1782. Engraving.



28. Matvei Kazakov. Golitsyn Hospital. Section of the rotunda. Moscow. 1796-1801.



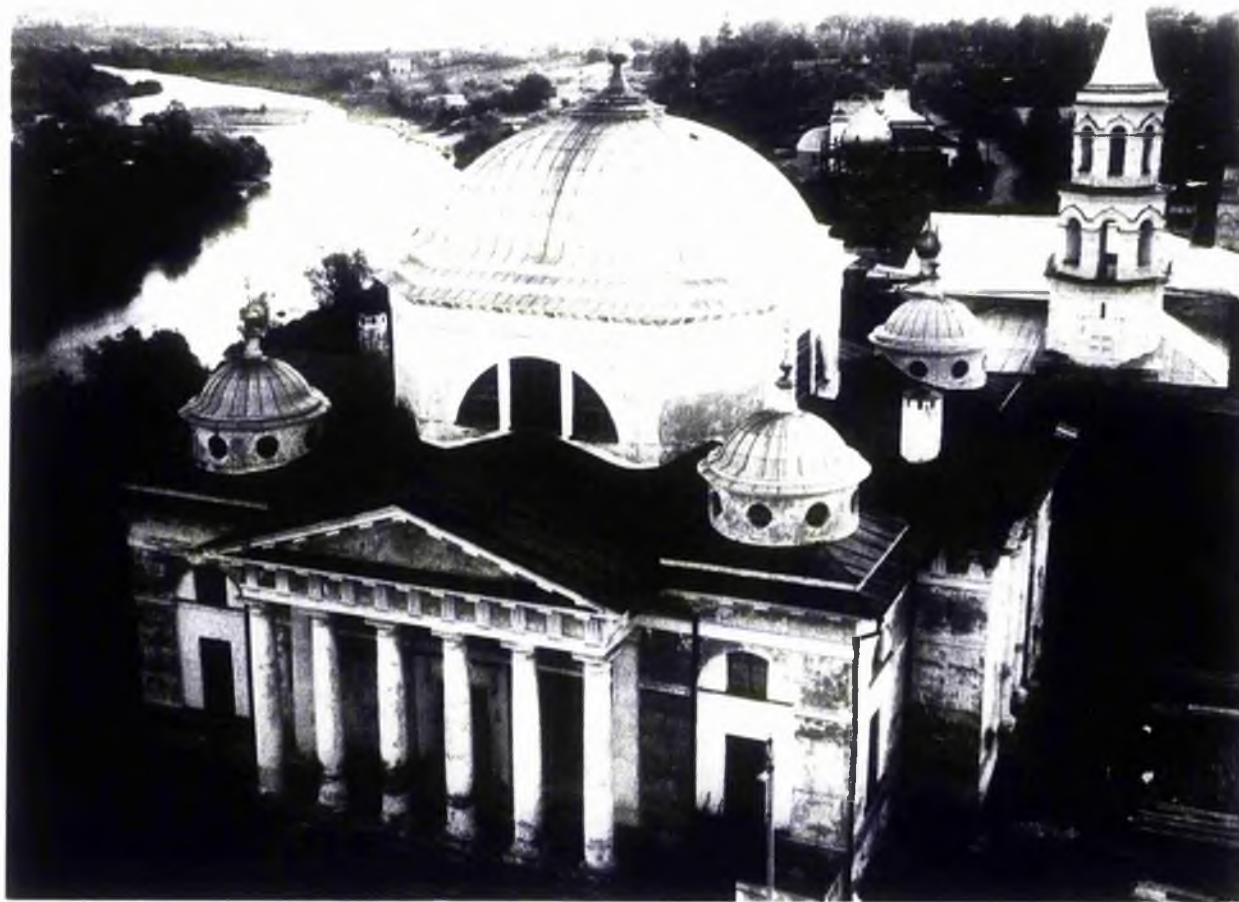
29. Adrean Zakharov. Design for the Rural Upbringing Settlement near Gatchina. Plan. 1808.



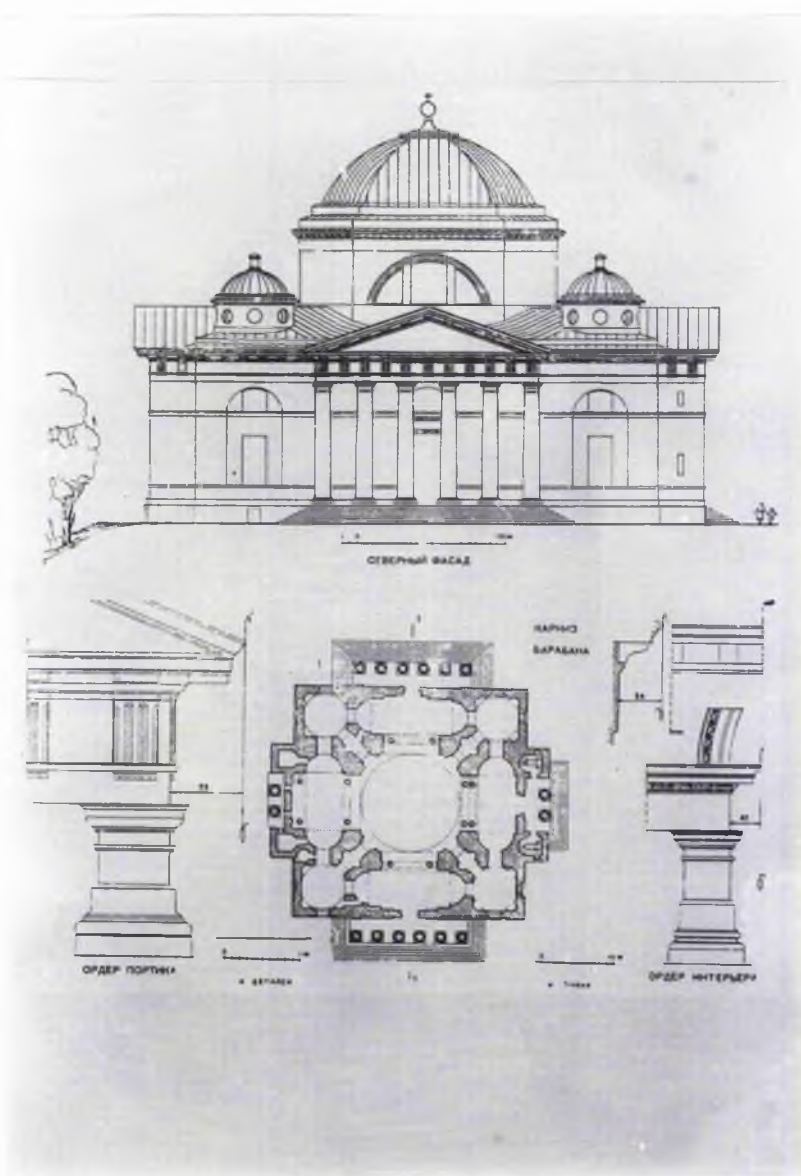
30. Adrean Zakharov. Design for the church of the Rural Upbringing Settlement near Gatchina. West facade elevation. 1808.



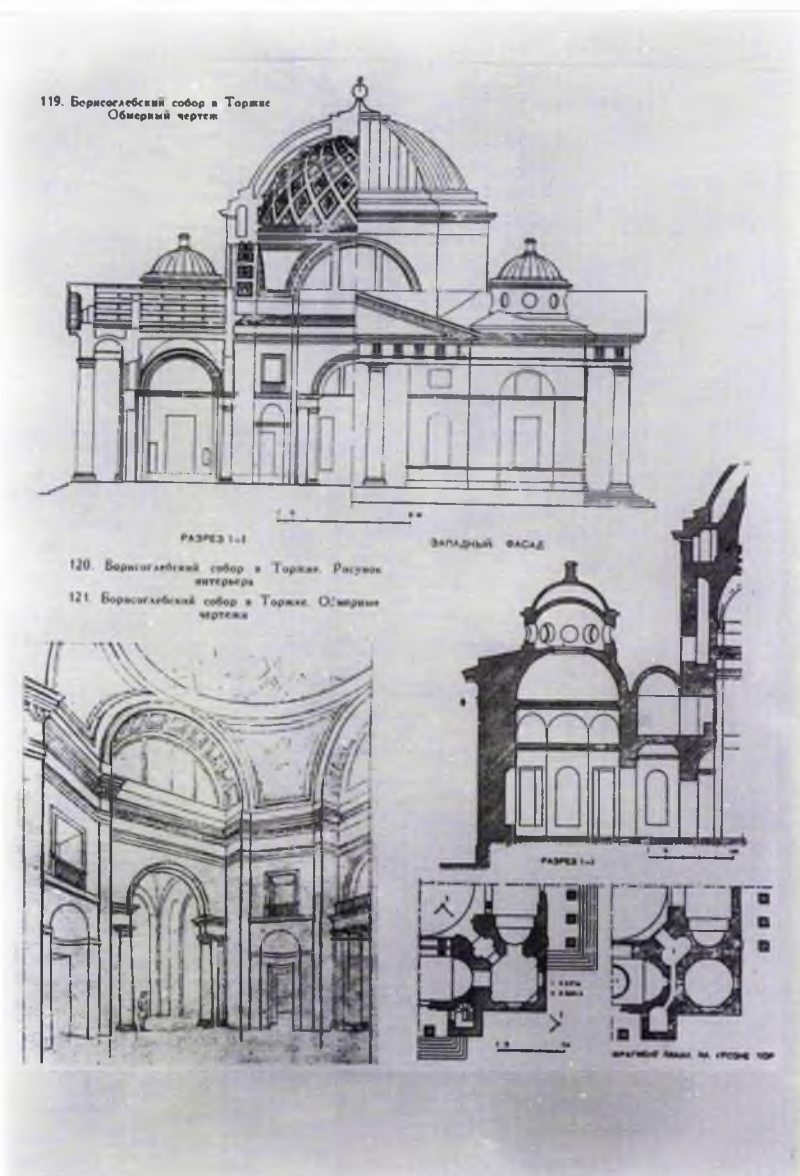
31. Adrean Zakharov. Design for the church of the Rural Upbringing Settlement near Gatchina. North facade elevation. 1808.



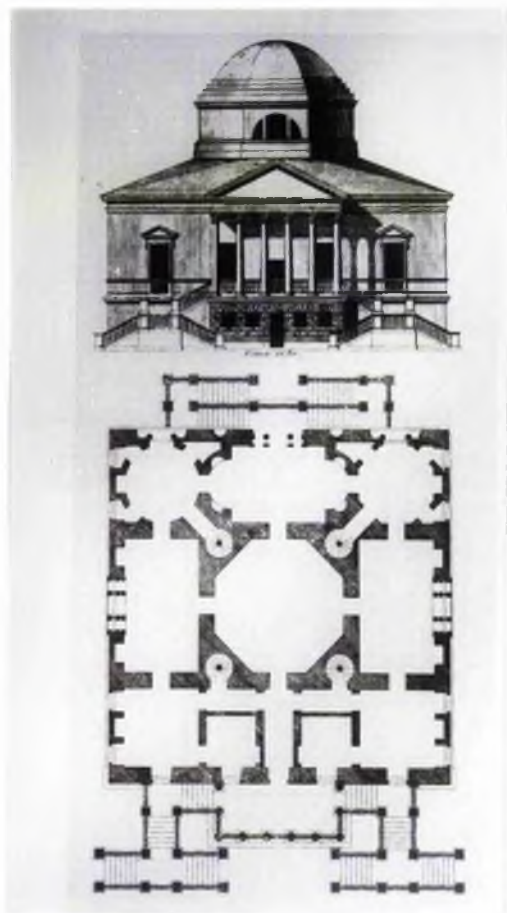
32.Nikolai L'vov. The Cathedral of Sts.Boris and Gleb.
Torzhok. 1785-1796.



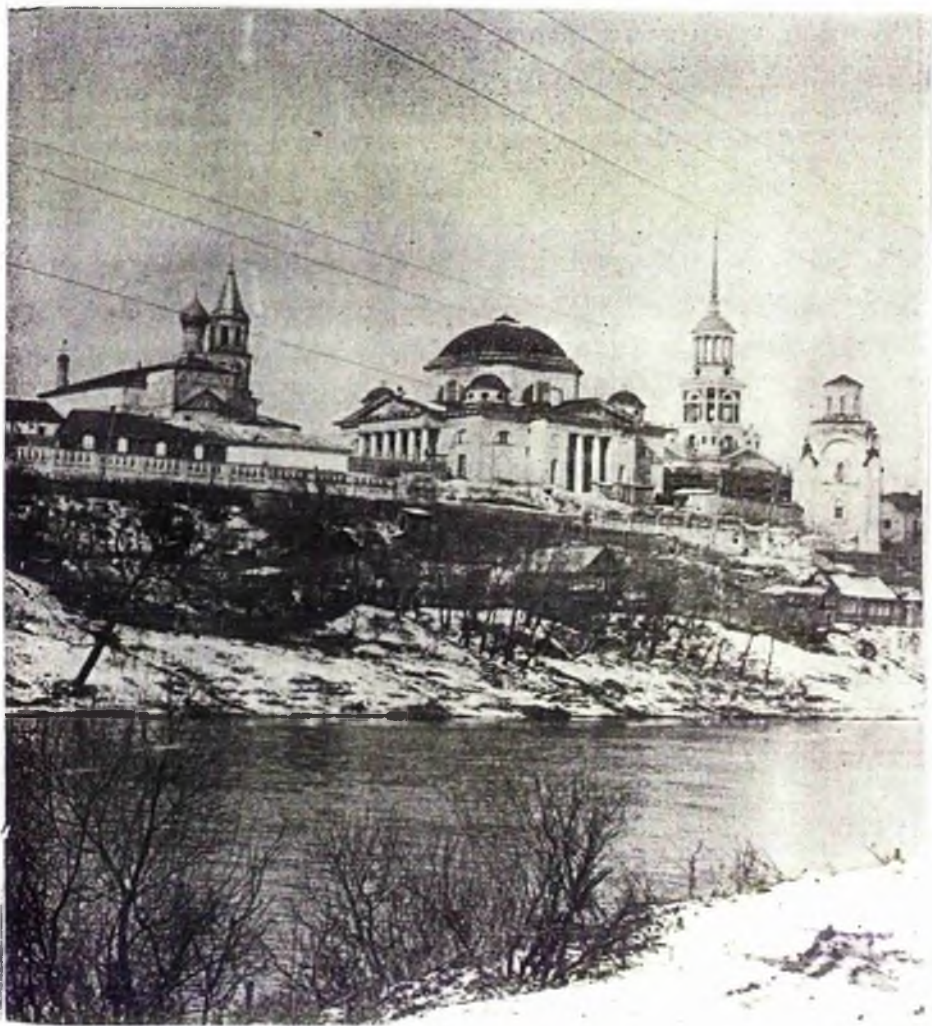
33. Nikolai L'vov. The Cathedral of Sts. Boris and Gleb. Torzhok. 1785-1796. Designs of the north facade, plan and details of the order in the exterior portico (left) and interior (right).



34. Nikolai L'vov. The Cathedral of Sts. Boris and Gleb. Torzhok. 1785-1796. Designs of the west facade elevation and section, view of the interior, section with a small cupola, fragments of the plan on the ground floor and at the gallery level.



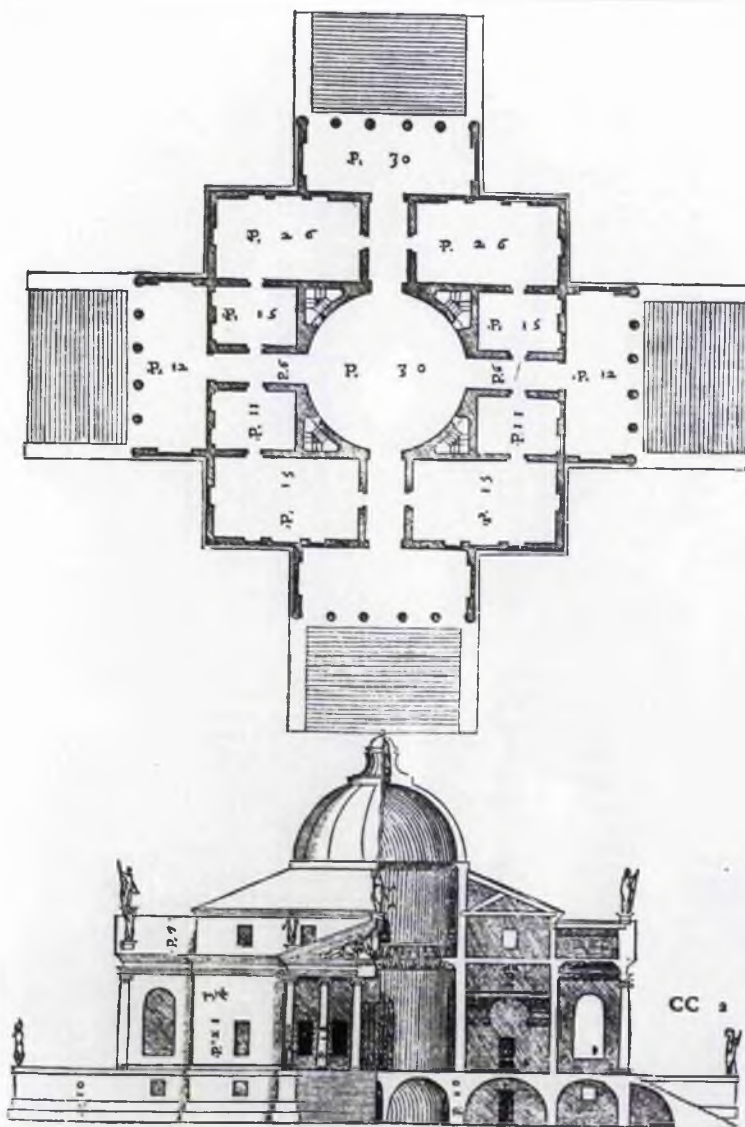
35. Lord Burlington. Chiswick House. Ca.1724. Front elevation and main floor plan. Engraving, 1727.



36. View of the Monastery and the Cathedral of Sts. Boris and
Gleb from across the river Tvertsa.



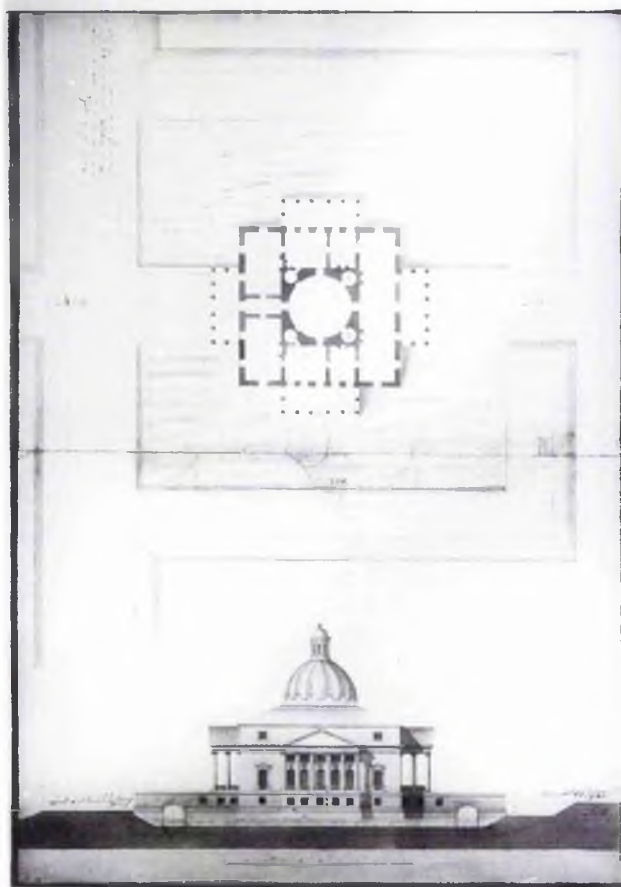
37. View of the Cathedral of Sts. Boris and Gleb, the bell-tower and buildings of the monastery from the north.



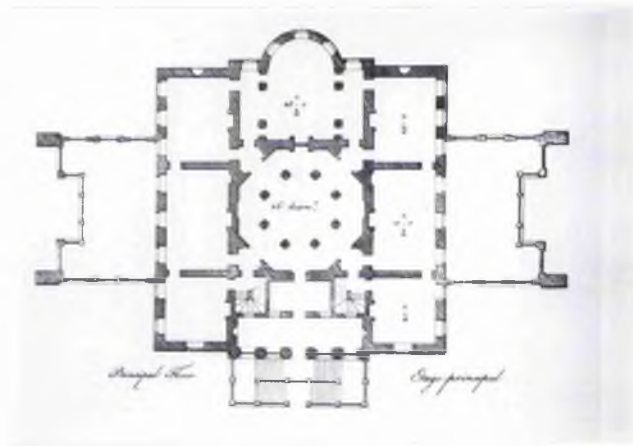
38. Andrea Palladio. Villa Rotonda. Near Vicenza.
1565/6-1569.



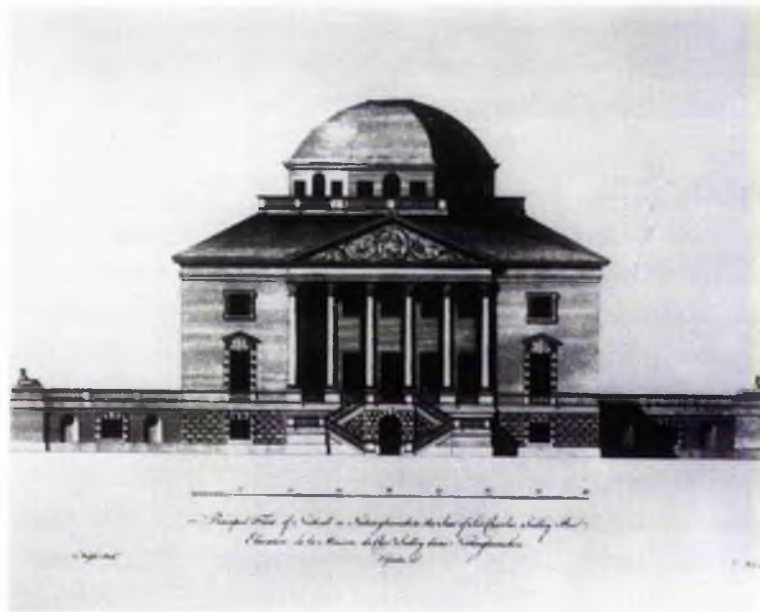
39. Charles Cameron. The Cathedral of St. Sophia near Tsarskoe Selo. 1780-1787. Drawing by Giacomo Quarenghi. 1790s.



40. Colen Campbell. Mereworth. Preliminary design. Site plan with plan of the villa and elevation with section through the moat. Drawing by Campbell. Ca. 1721-1722.



41. Thomas Wright. Nuthall Temple. Plan of the principal floor. Ca.1754. J.Gandon, delin. Engraving, 1767.



42. Thomas Wright. Nuthall Temple. Front elevation. Ca.1754. J.Gandon, delin. Engraving, 1767.



43. Matthew Brettingham the Younger. Foots Cray Place.

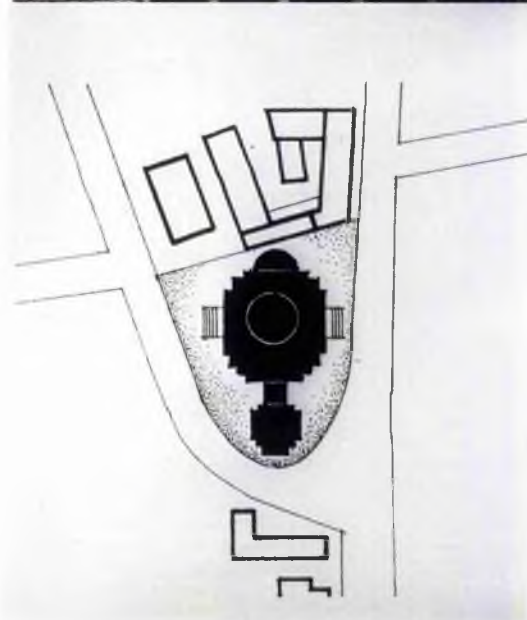
'The Front Elevation which Represents all the other Fronts.' 1754.



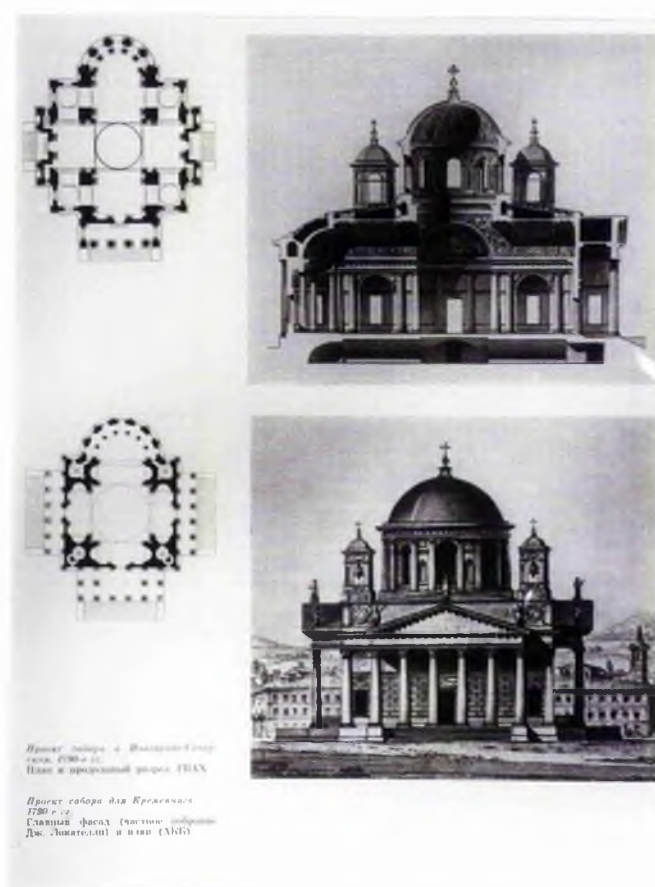
44. Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli. The church of Catherine Palace.
Tsarskoe Selo.



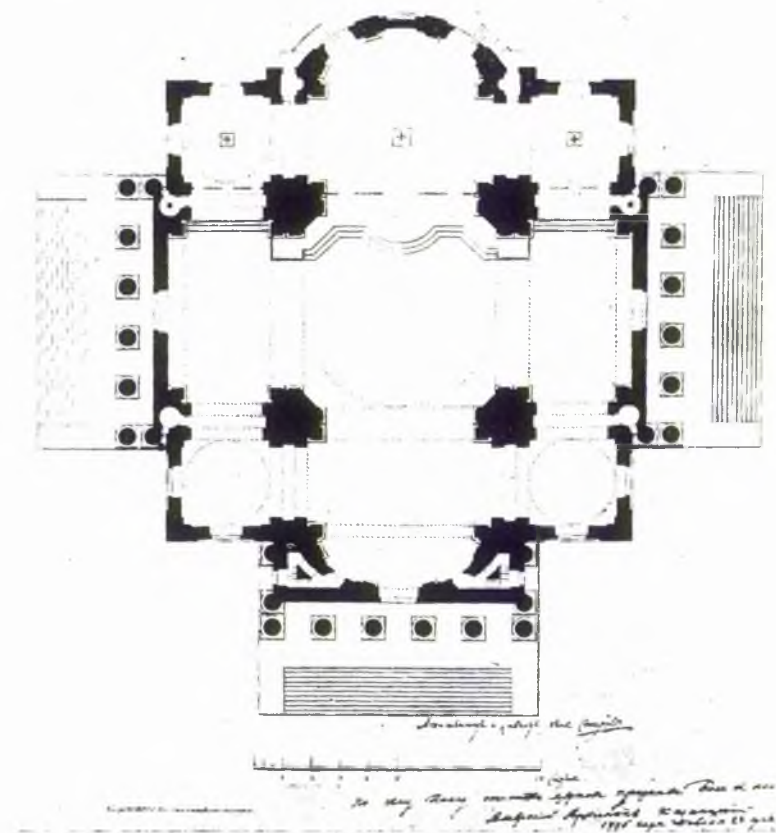
45.Georg Friedrich Velten. Church of John the Baptist near Chesme Palace. 1777-1780.



46.Rodion Kazakov. The church of St.Martin the Confessor. Moscow. Exterior view and plan. 1792-1796.



47. Giacomo Quarenghi. Designs for the Cathedrals in Novgorod-Severskii (plan and section) and Kremenchug (plan and main facade elevation). 1790s.



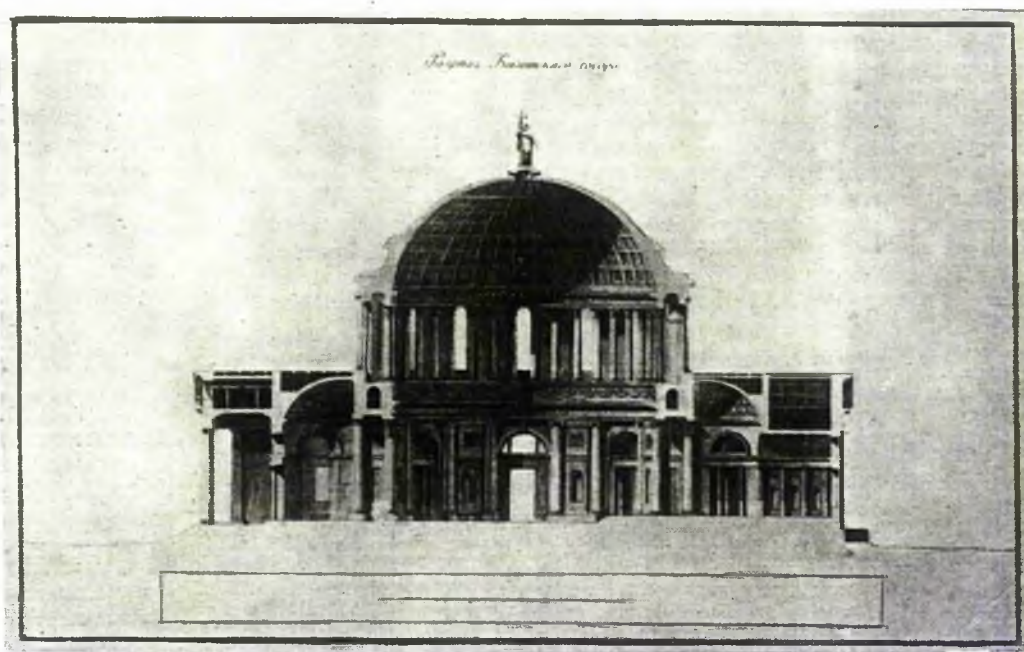
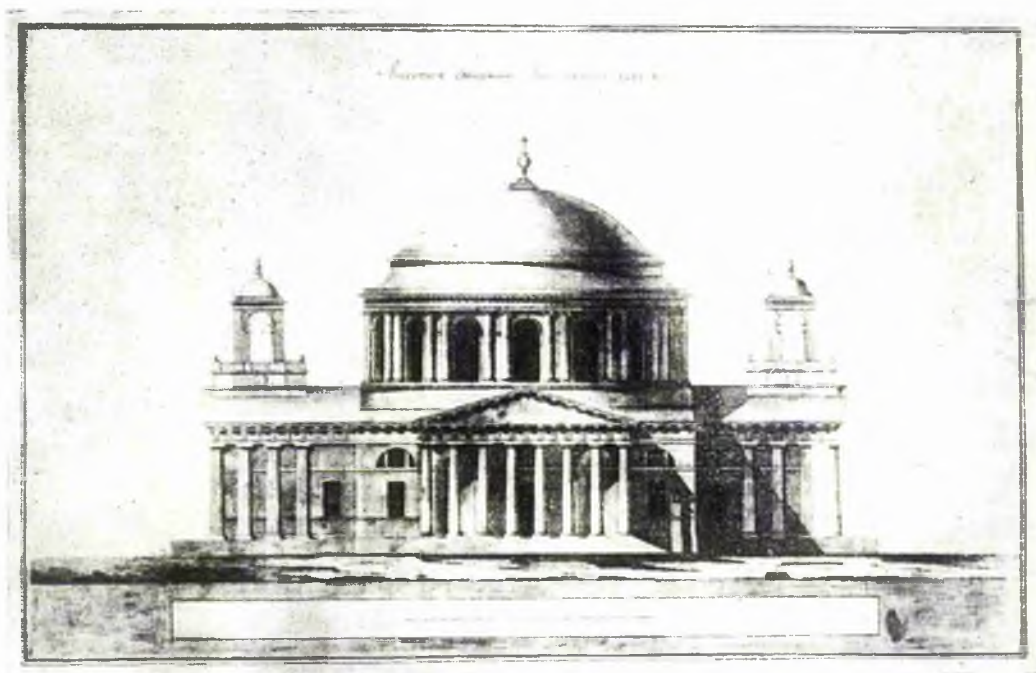
48.Ivan Starov. Design for the Cathedral of the Mother of God in Kazan. Plan. 1796.



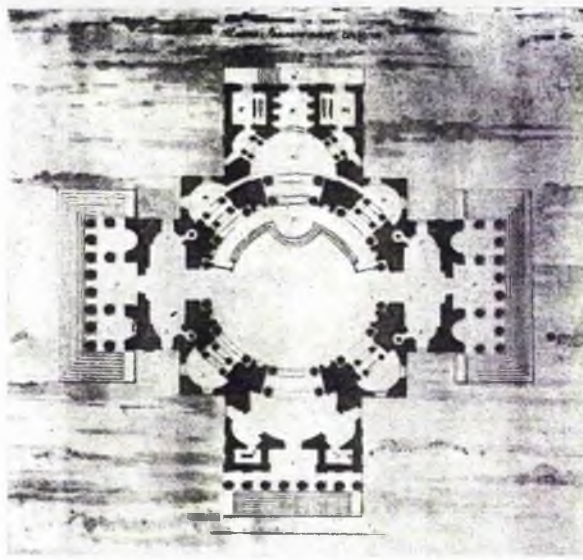
49.Ivan Starov. Design for the Cathedral of the Mother of God in Kazan. Section. 1796.



50. Carlo Rossi. Design for the Cathedrals in Tver and Torzhok. 1811.

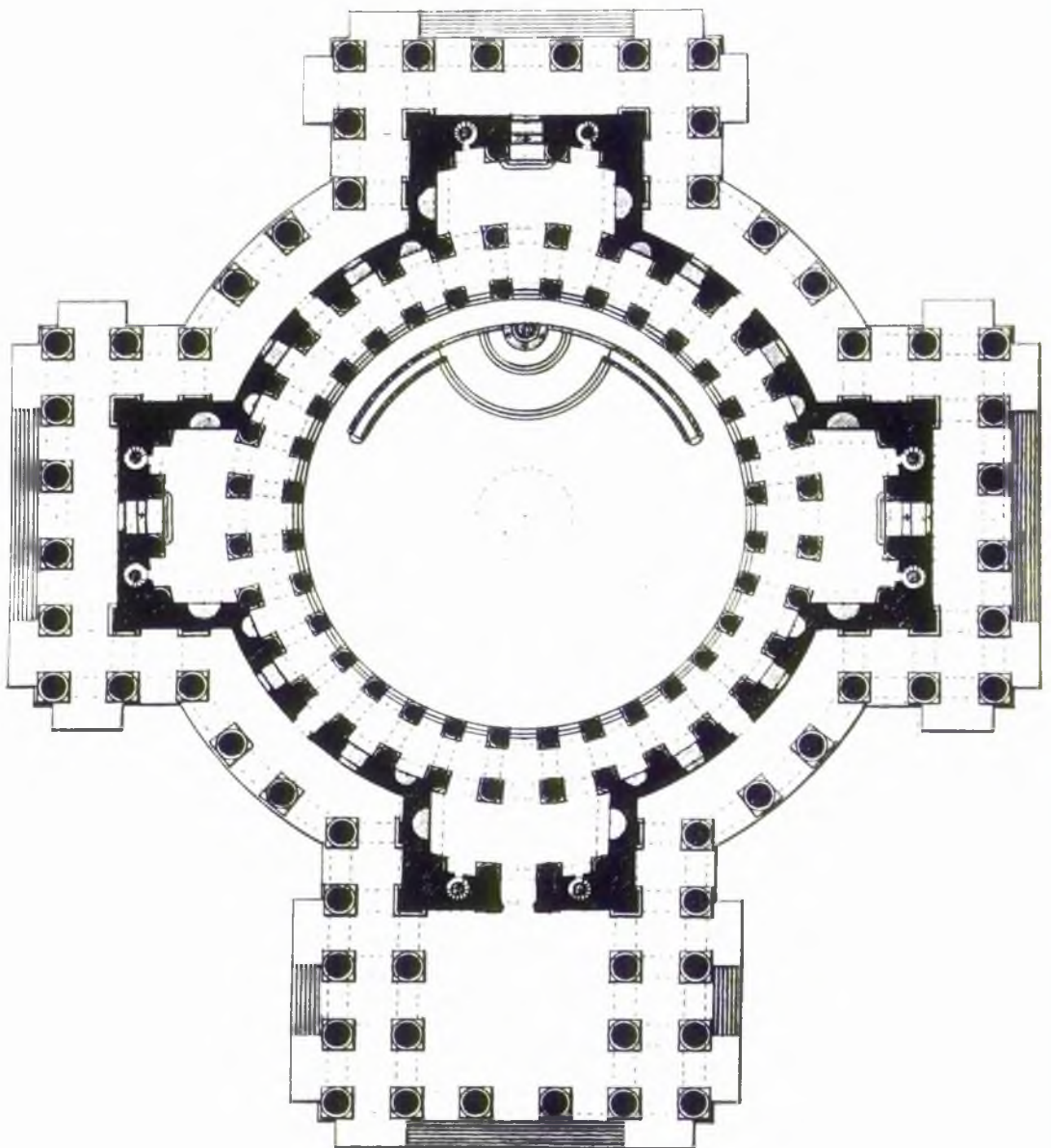


51. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God in St. Petersburg. Facade elevation and section. Between 1787 and 1791.



52.Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God in St.Petersburg. Plan. Between 1787 and 1791.

XIX^e XX^e et XXI^e Plan d'Eglise 2.



53.Jean Francois de Neufforge. Plan for a centralised church.



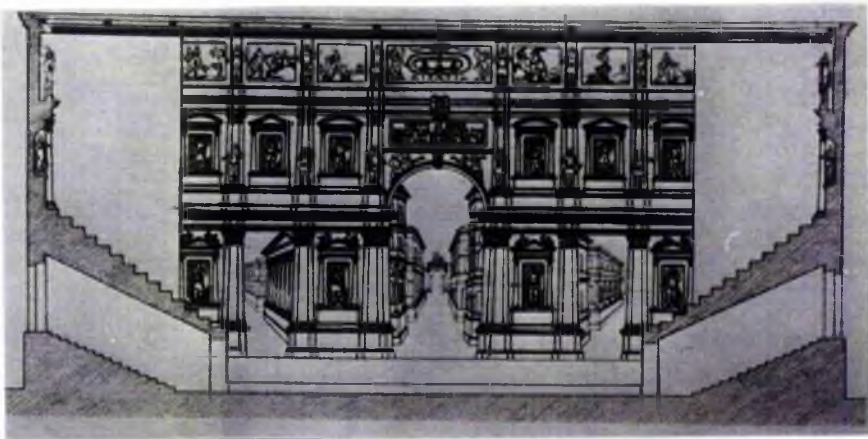
54. The Pantheon. Rome. Nineteenth-century photograph.



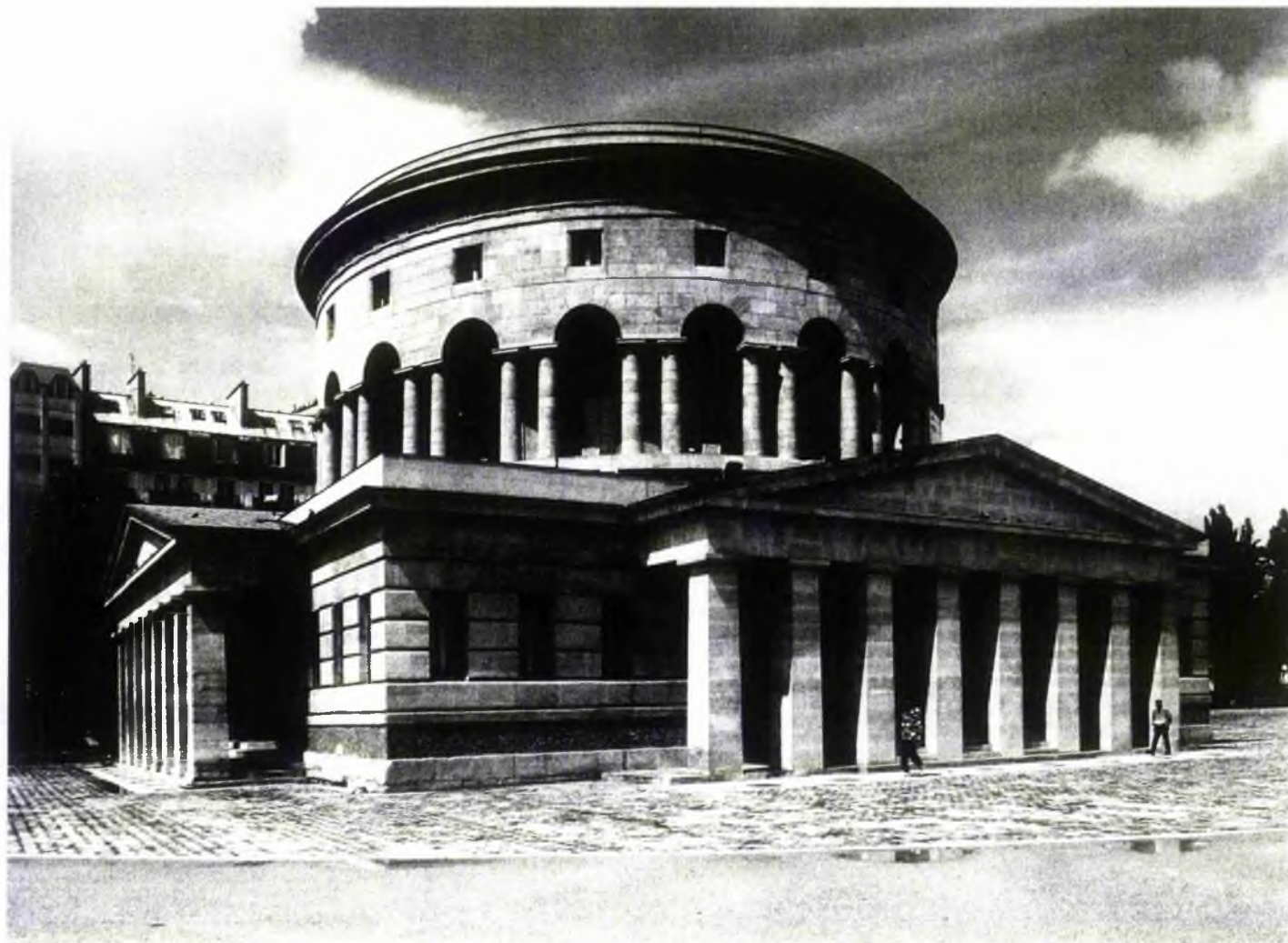
55. The Cathedral of Hagia Sophia. Constantinople.



56. Nikolai L'vov. An illustration to Catherine the Great's play The Initial Governing of Oleg representing the hippodrome in Constantinople. 1791.



57. Giacomo Quarenghi. Drawing of the permanent backdrop of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza.



58. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Barrière de la Villette. Paris. 1785-1789.



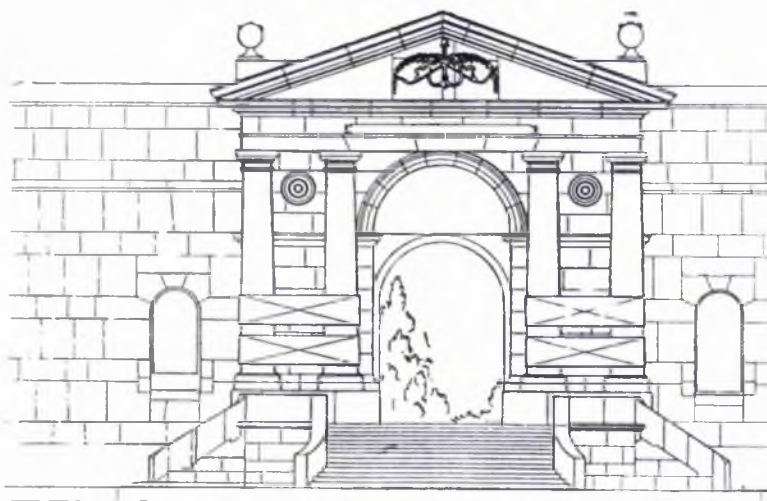
Figure 461 Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God, Petersburg
1801-11. Architect: Andrei Voronikhin. North view. (P 78-25)



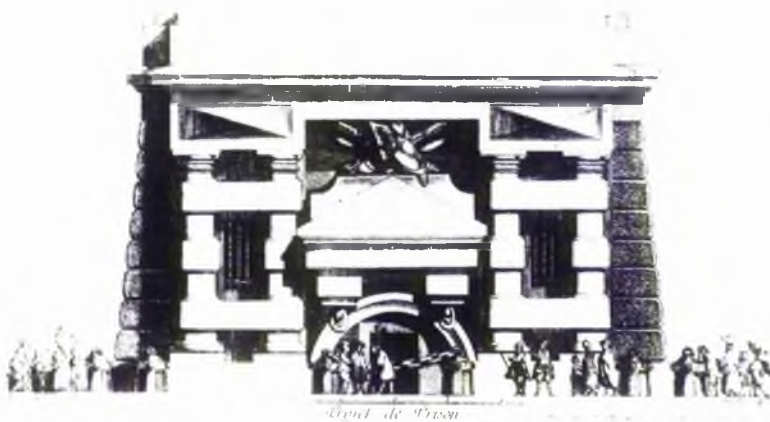
59. Andrei Voronikhin. The Cathedral of the Kazan Mother of God.
St. Petersburg. Facade elevation, section and the proposed plan. 1801-1811.



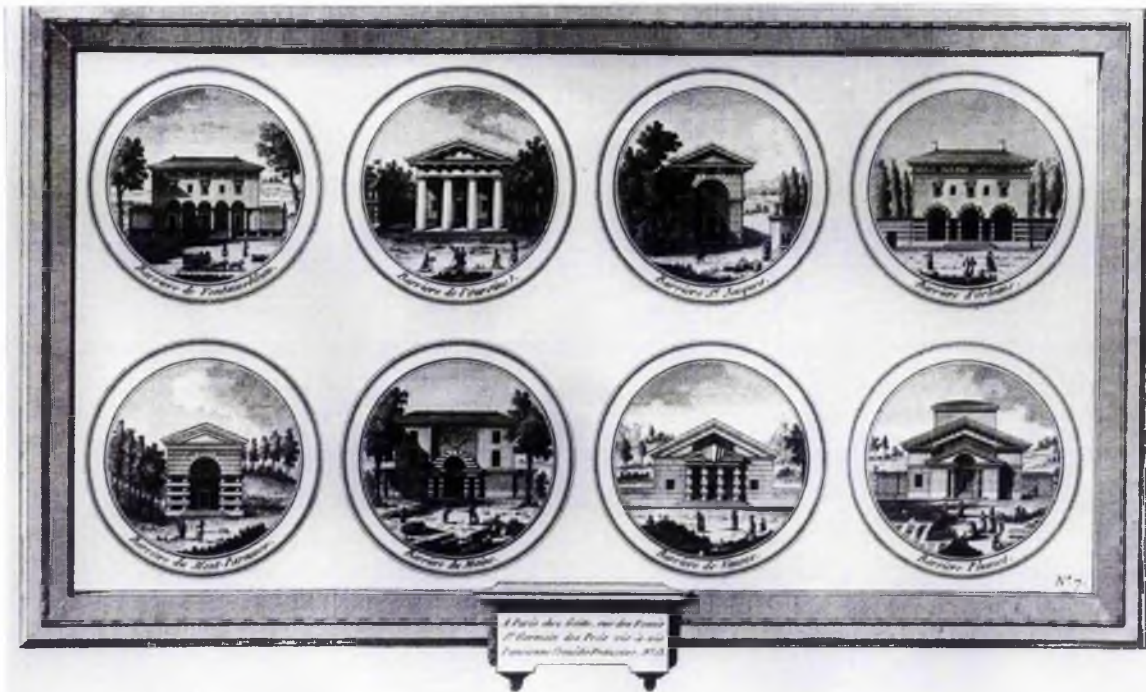
60. Alexander Vitberg. Design for the memorial church of Christ
the Saviour in Moscow. Ca. 1817.



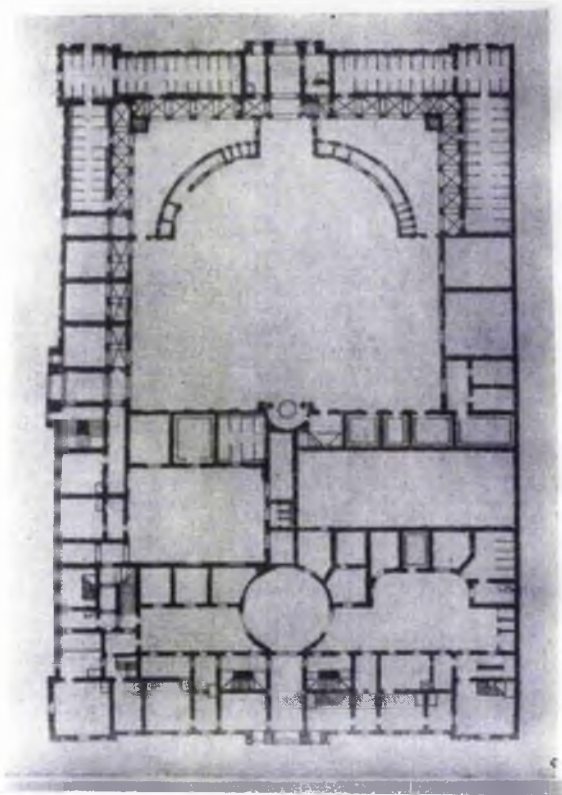
61.Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Nevskie Gates of the Peter-Paul fortress. 1780-1787.



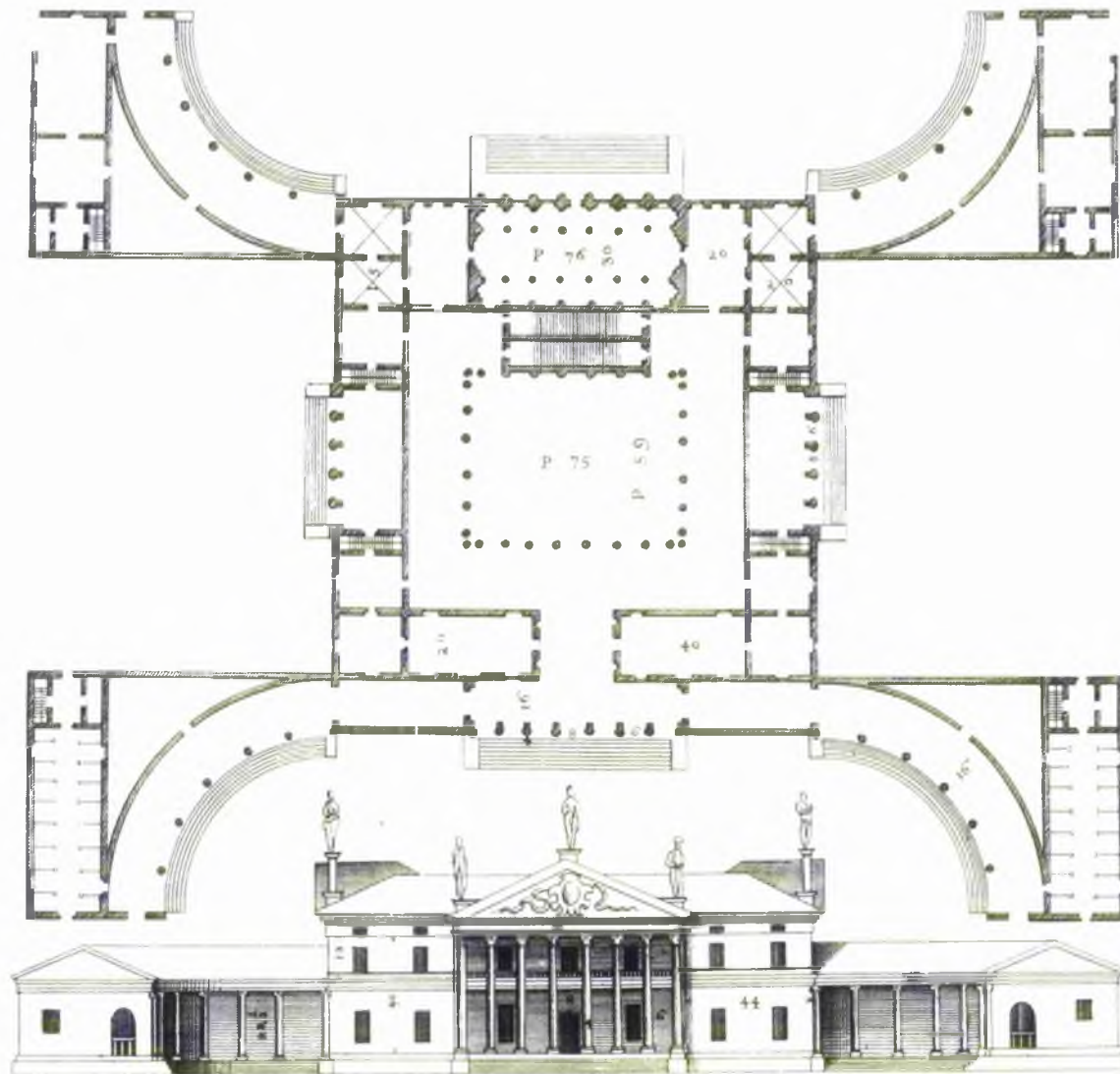
62.Jean-Charles Delafosse. Design for a prison. Engraving. 1768.



63. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Perspective views of the barrières of Fontainebleau, l'Orsine, Saint-Jacques, Orléans, Montparnasse, Maine, Vanves and Plumet. Paris. 1784-1789.



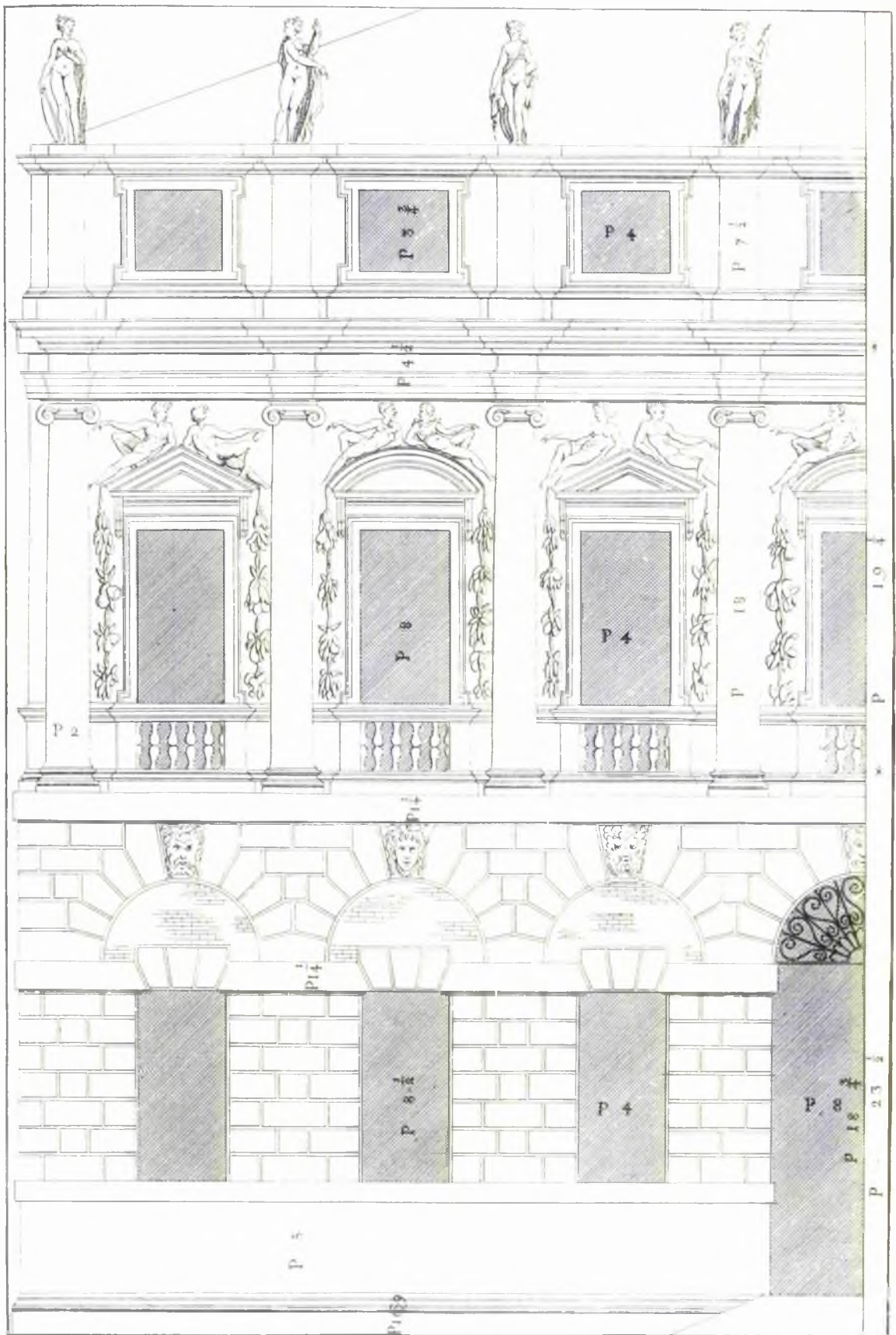
64. Plan of the Post Office. St. Petersburg. Design from the late eighteenth century.



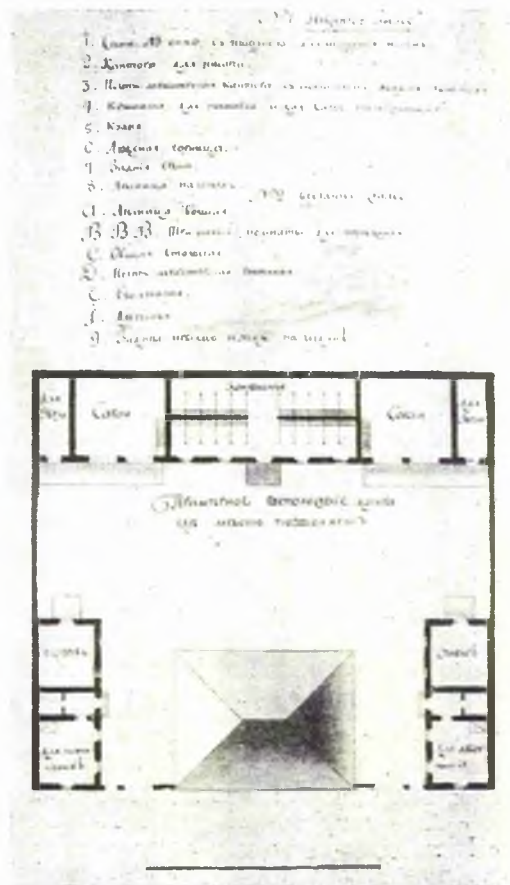
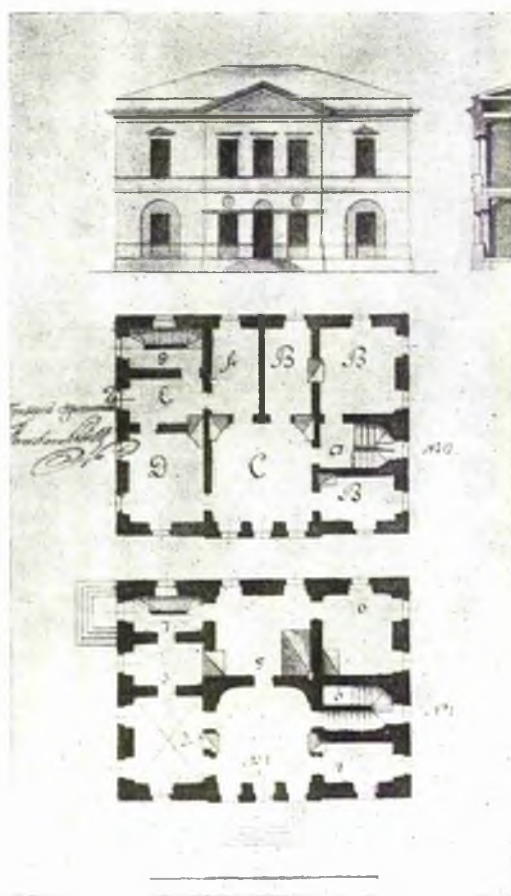
65. Andrea Palladio. Villa of Leonardo Mocenigo.



66.Design for the main facade of the Post Office. St.Petersburg.

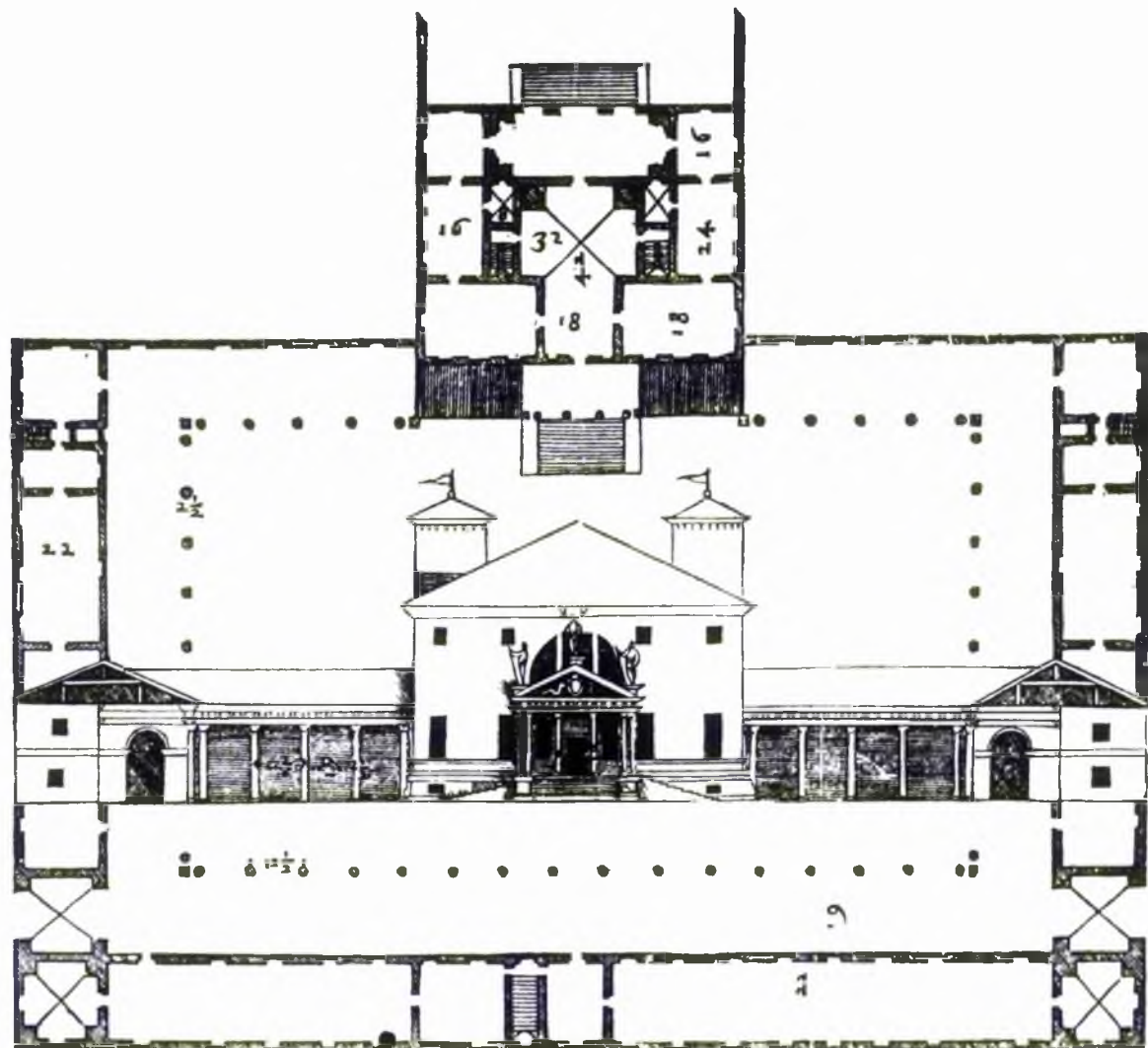


67. Andrea Palladio. House of the Count Iseppo de Porti. Vicenza.



68. Nikolai L'vov. Model design for postal stations.

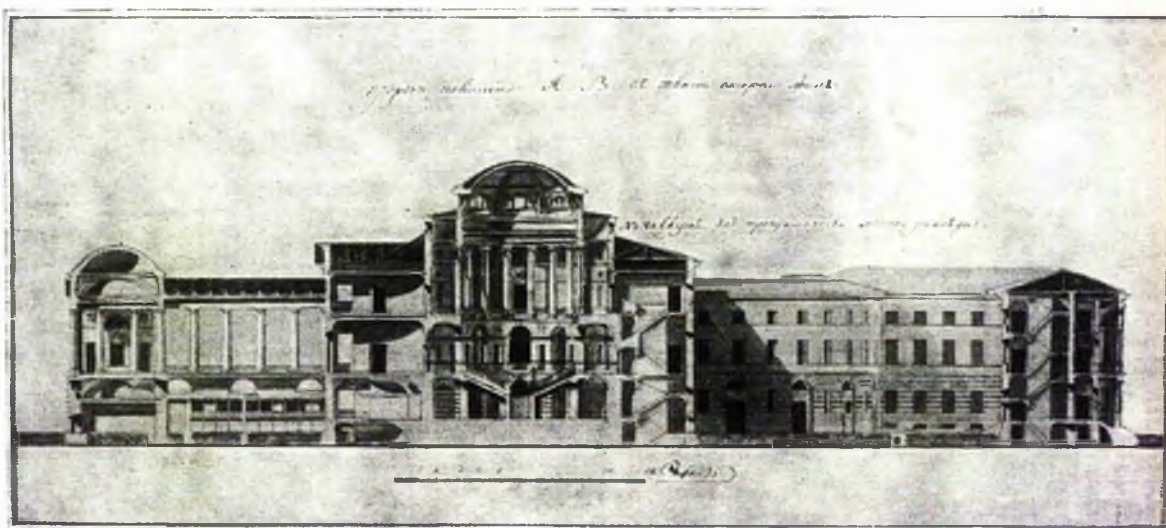
Facade elevation, plans of the ground and first floors and the entire complex. Beginning of the 1780s.



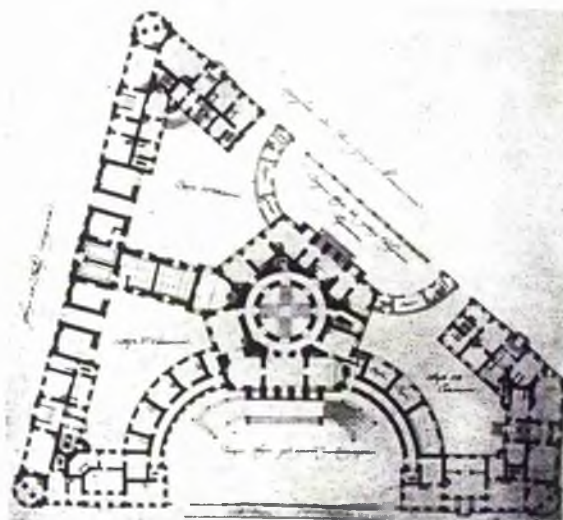
69. Andrea Palladio. Villa Pisani in Bagnolo.



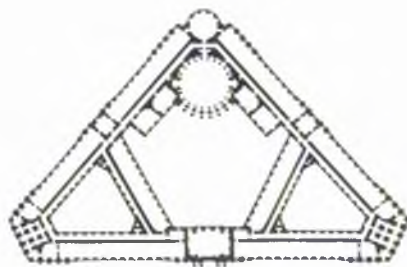
70. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Administrative Offices (Kabinet).
1787. Facade elevation.



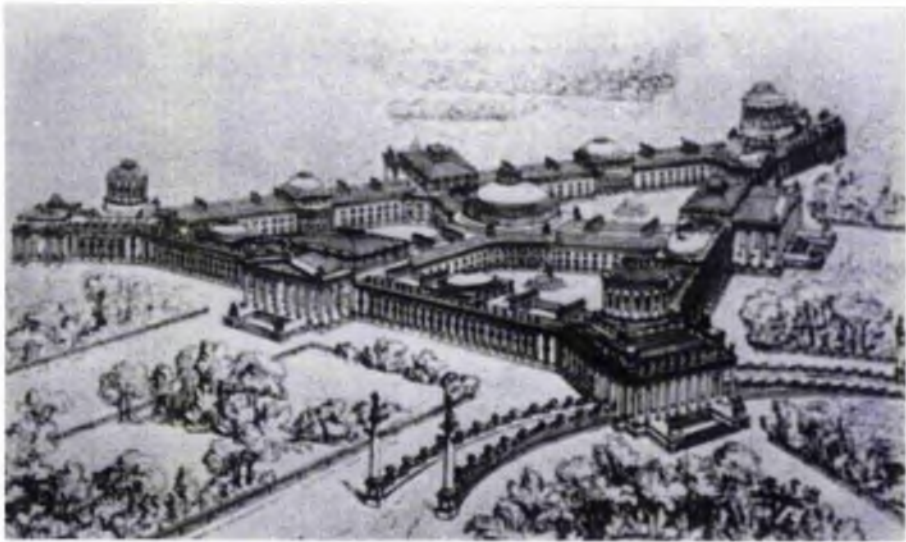
71. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Administrative Offices (Kabinet).
1787. Section.



72.Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Administrative Offices (Kabinet).
1787. Plan.



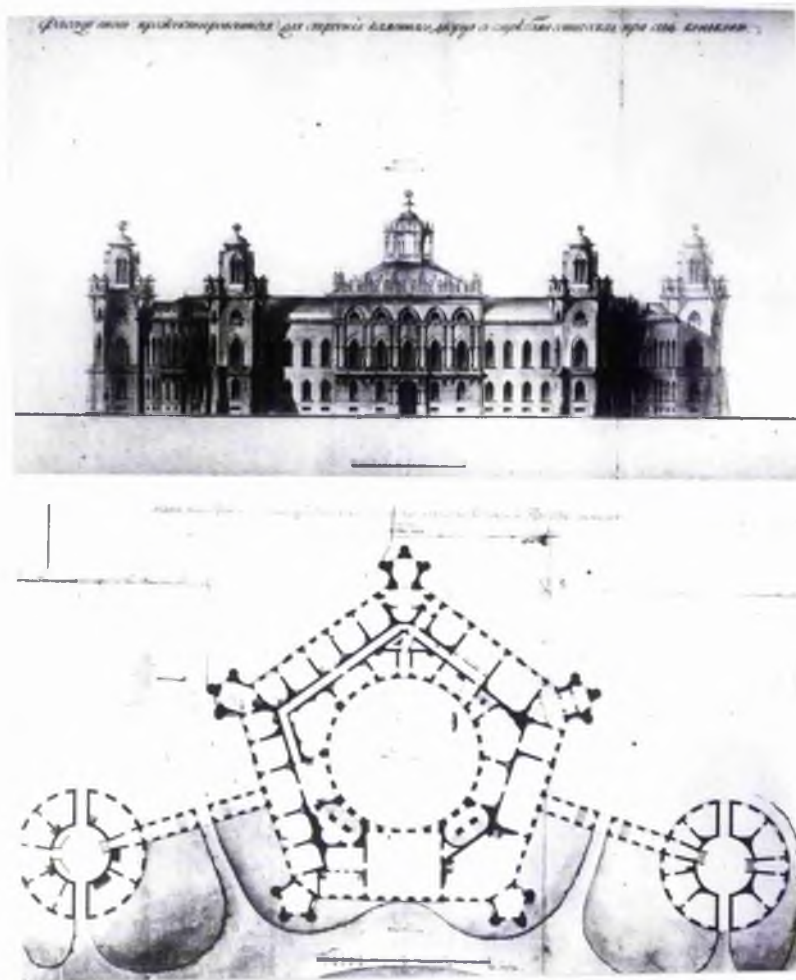
73.Matvei Kazakov. The State Senate. Moscow. 1776-1787. Plan.



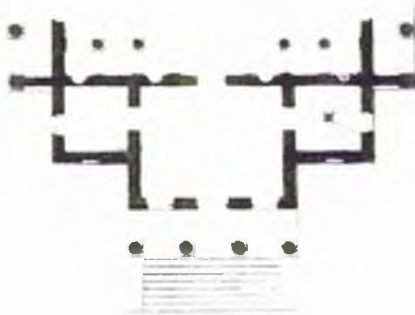
74. John Soane. Design for a Royal Palace. 1779-1828.



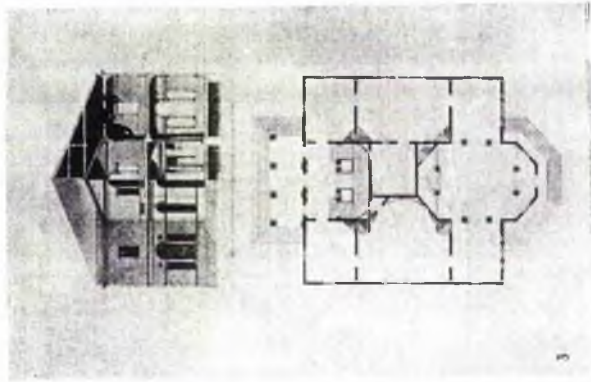
75. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola.
Completed in 1573. Plan.



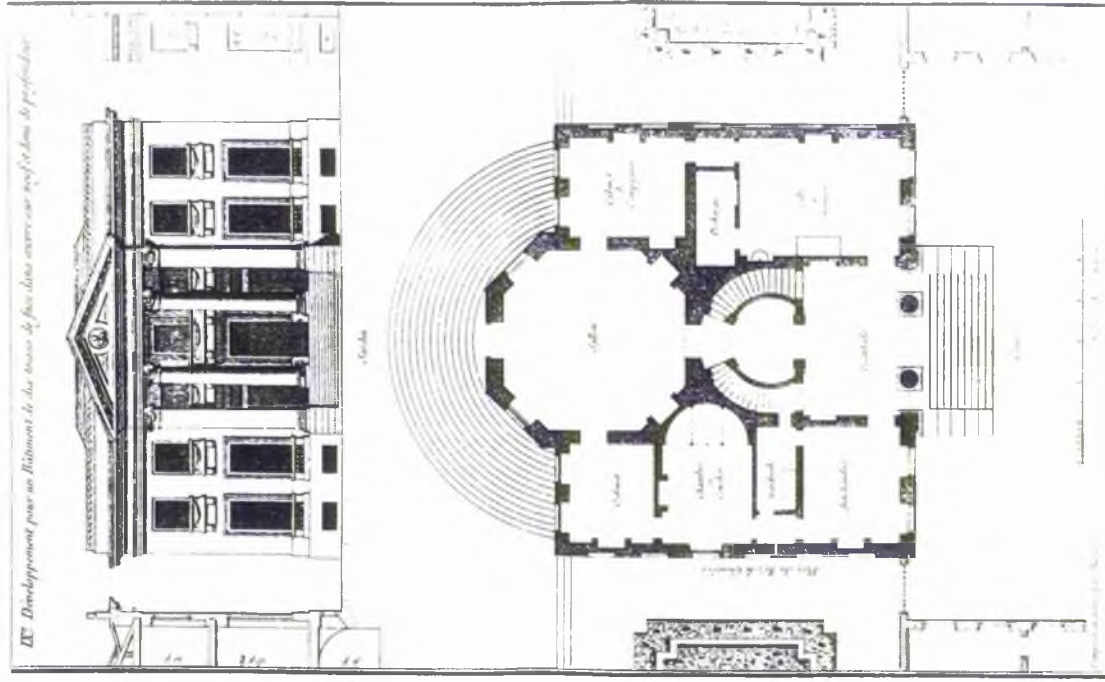
76. Matvei Kazakov. The Neo-Gothic version of the design for the Imperial Palace at Konkovo. Near Moscow. 1780s.



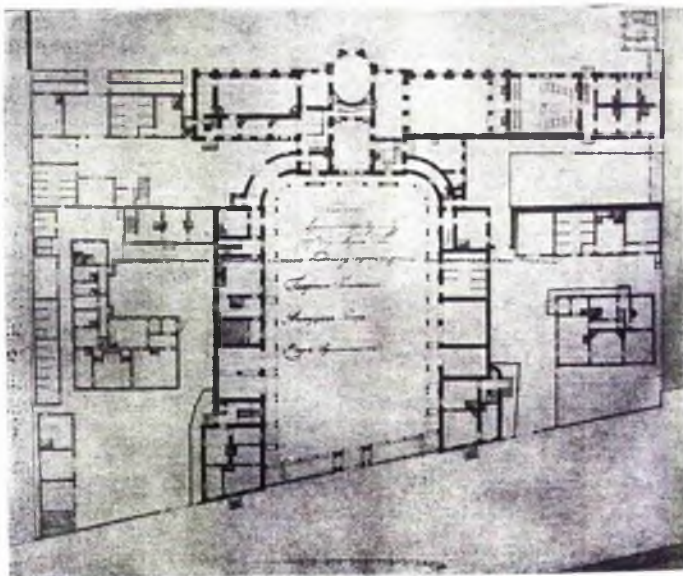
77. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the 'small summer house'.
Lialichi in the Ukraine. Facade elevation and plan. Before 1791.



78. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the house of Vasilii Kapnist. Facade elevation and plan. 1780s-1790s.



79. Jean Francois de Neufforge. Design for a house. Facade elevation and plan.



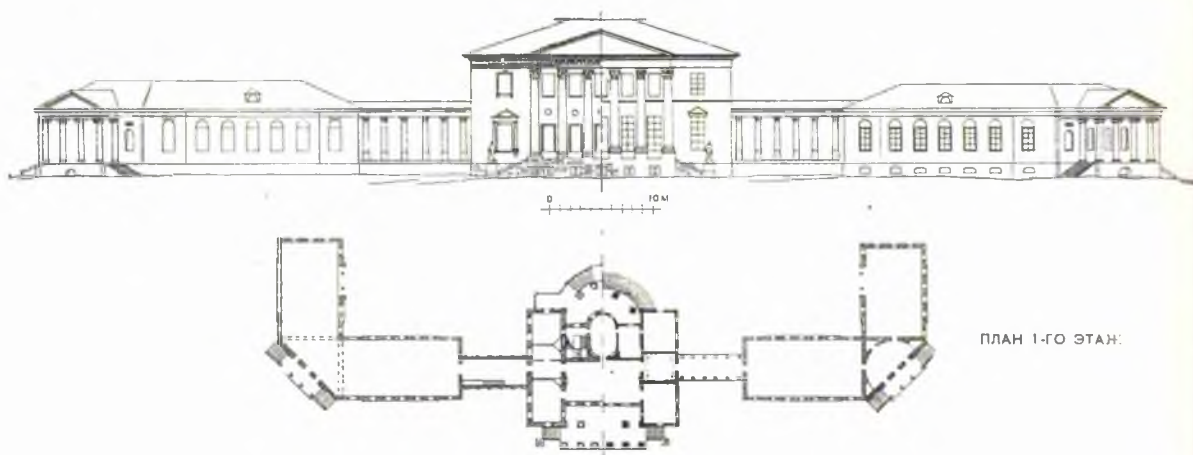
80. Nikolai L'vov. The house of Gavriil Derzhavin. St. Petersburg.
1790s-1800s. Plan of the first floor.



81. Nikolai L'vov. The house of Gavriil Derzhavin. St. Petersburg.
Main front and garden facade elevations recorded at
the beginning of the nineteenth century.



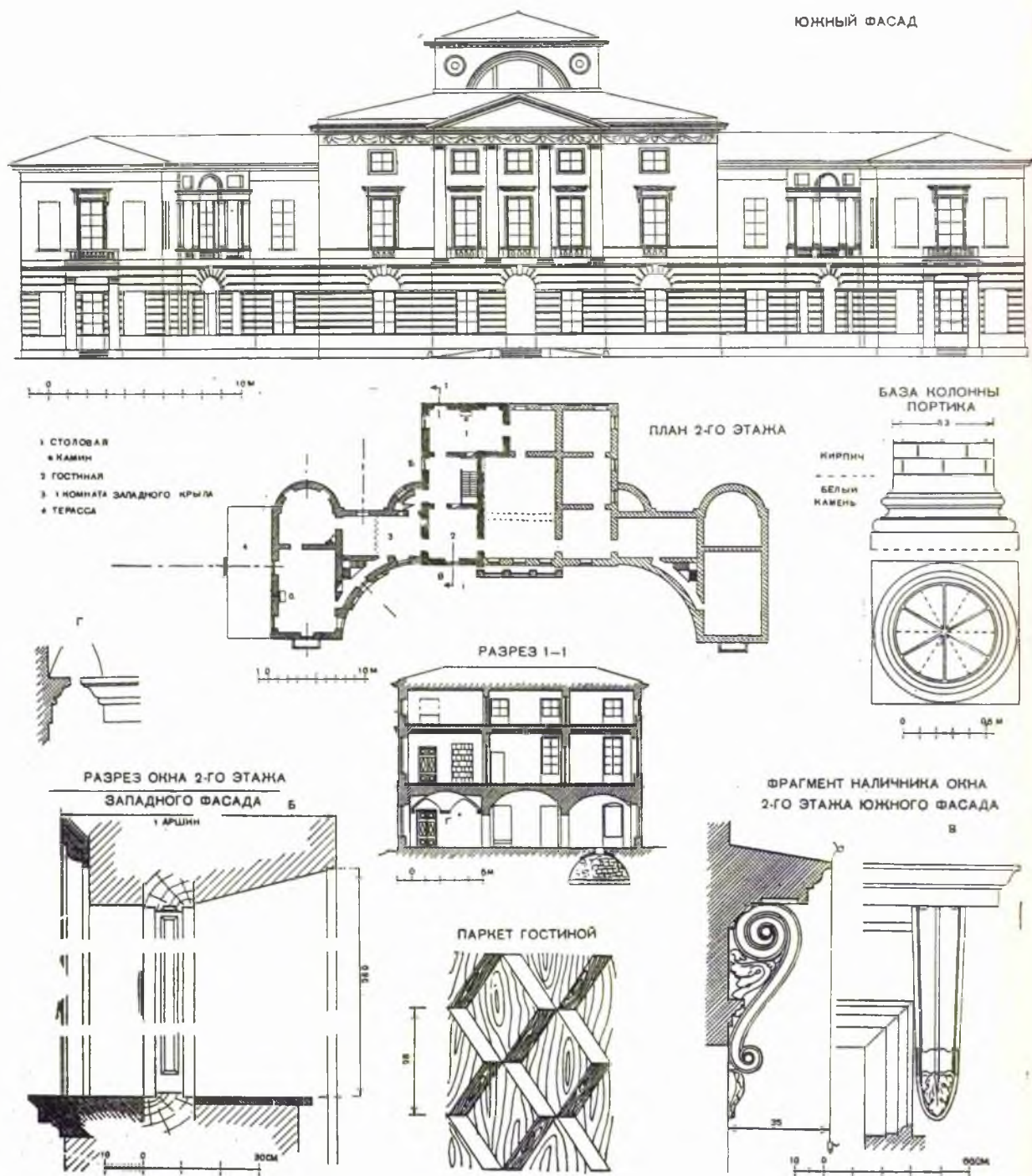
82.Nikolai L'vov. Design for the house of Piotr Soimonov.
St.Petersburg. 1780s.



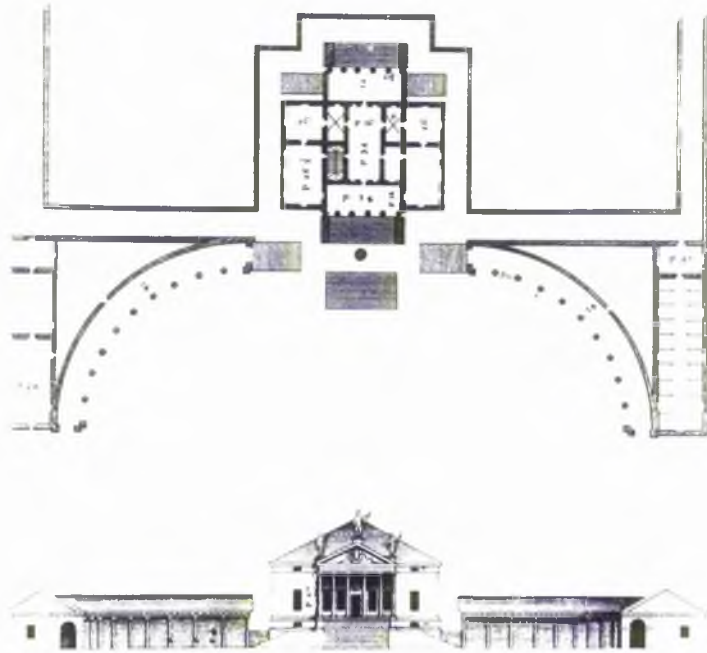
83.Nikolai L'vov. The house of Piotr Lopukhin. Estate of
Vvedenskoe, south of Moscow. Variants of the reconstruction
of the facade elevation and plan. End of the 1790s.



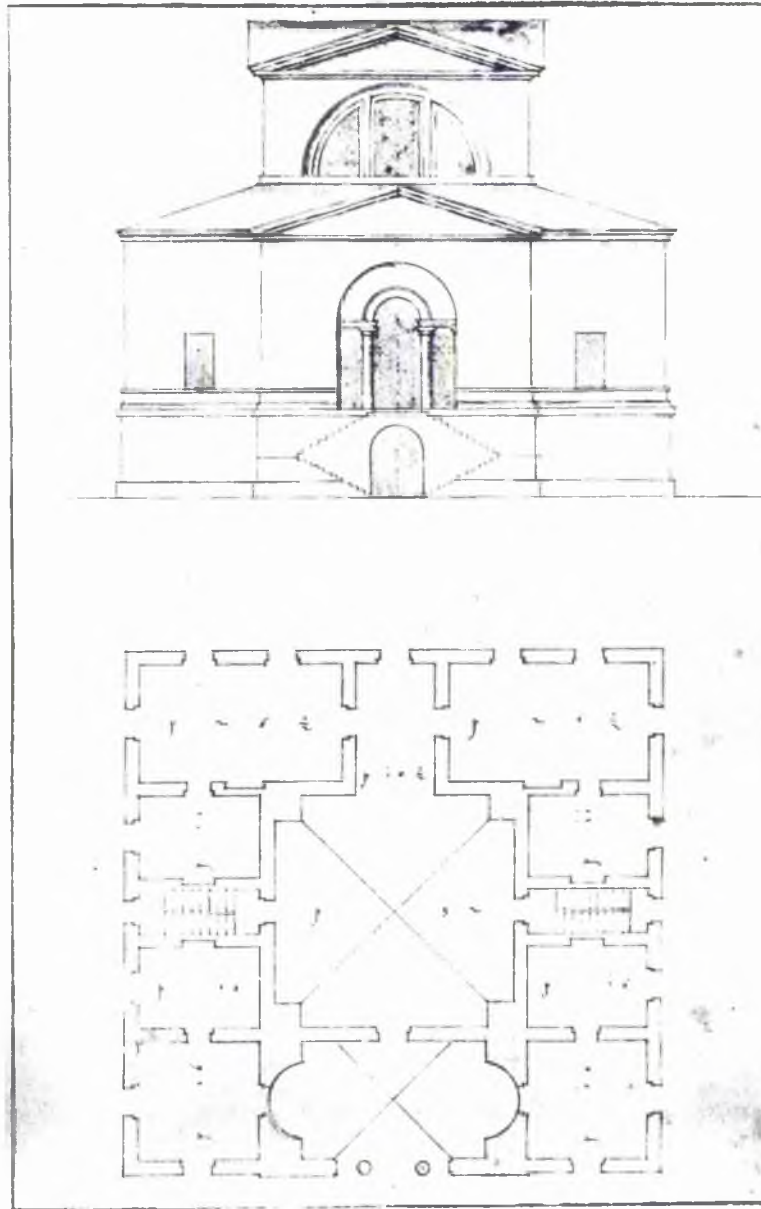
84. Vasilii Polenov. Drawing of the house in Nikolskoe. 1860.



85. Nikolai L'vov. The house in Nikolskoe. 1780s-1790s. Reconstruction of the main facade elevation, section and details of the decoration, the plan of the extant part of the building is emphasised with deeper shade.



86. Andrea Palladio. Villa Badoer at Fratta Polesine.



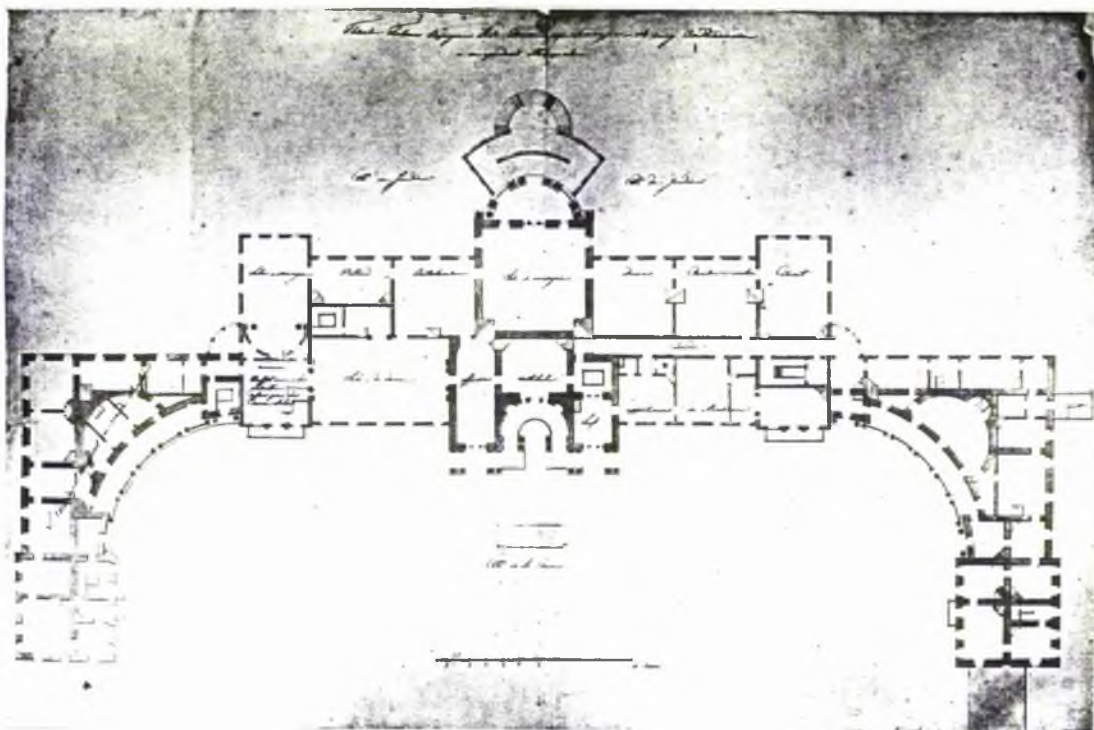
87. Andrea Palladio. Study of a ground plan and elevation for a villa.



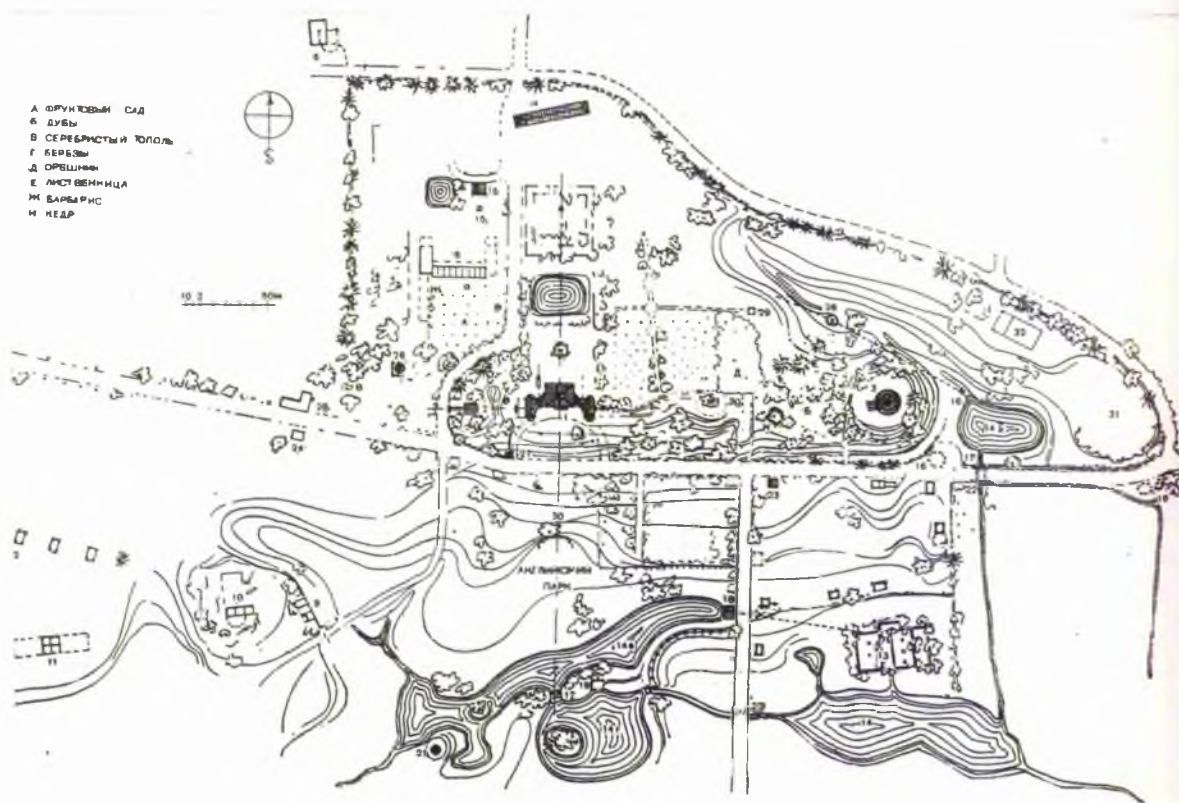
88. James Paine. Plan of Wardour Castle, Wiltshire. 1768-1776.



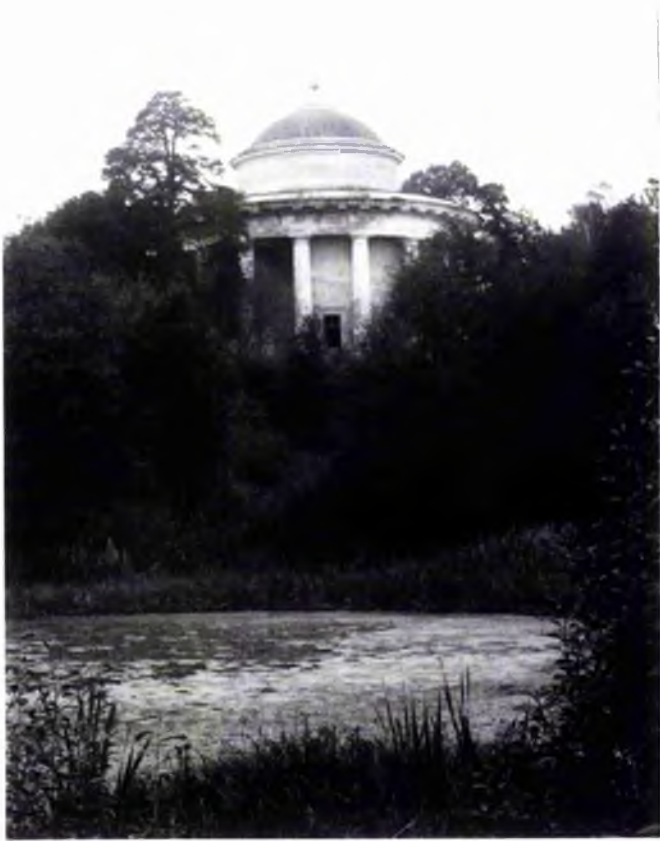
89. Sketch of a landscape in Nikolai L'vov's 'Kushelev album'.



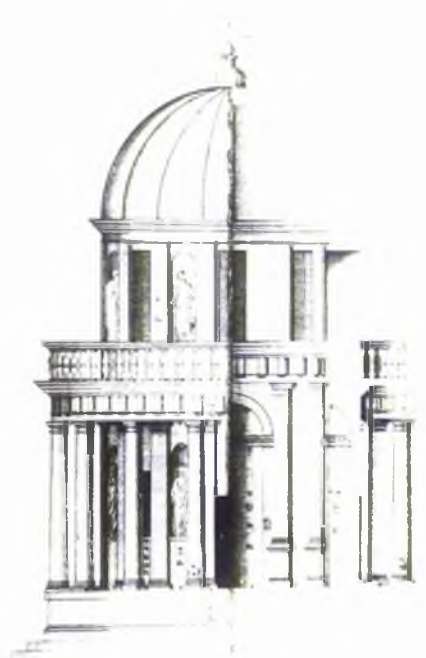
90. Adam Menelaws. The Palace of Piotr Razumovskii at Gorokhovoe Pole. Moscow. Plan. 1801-1803.



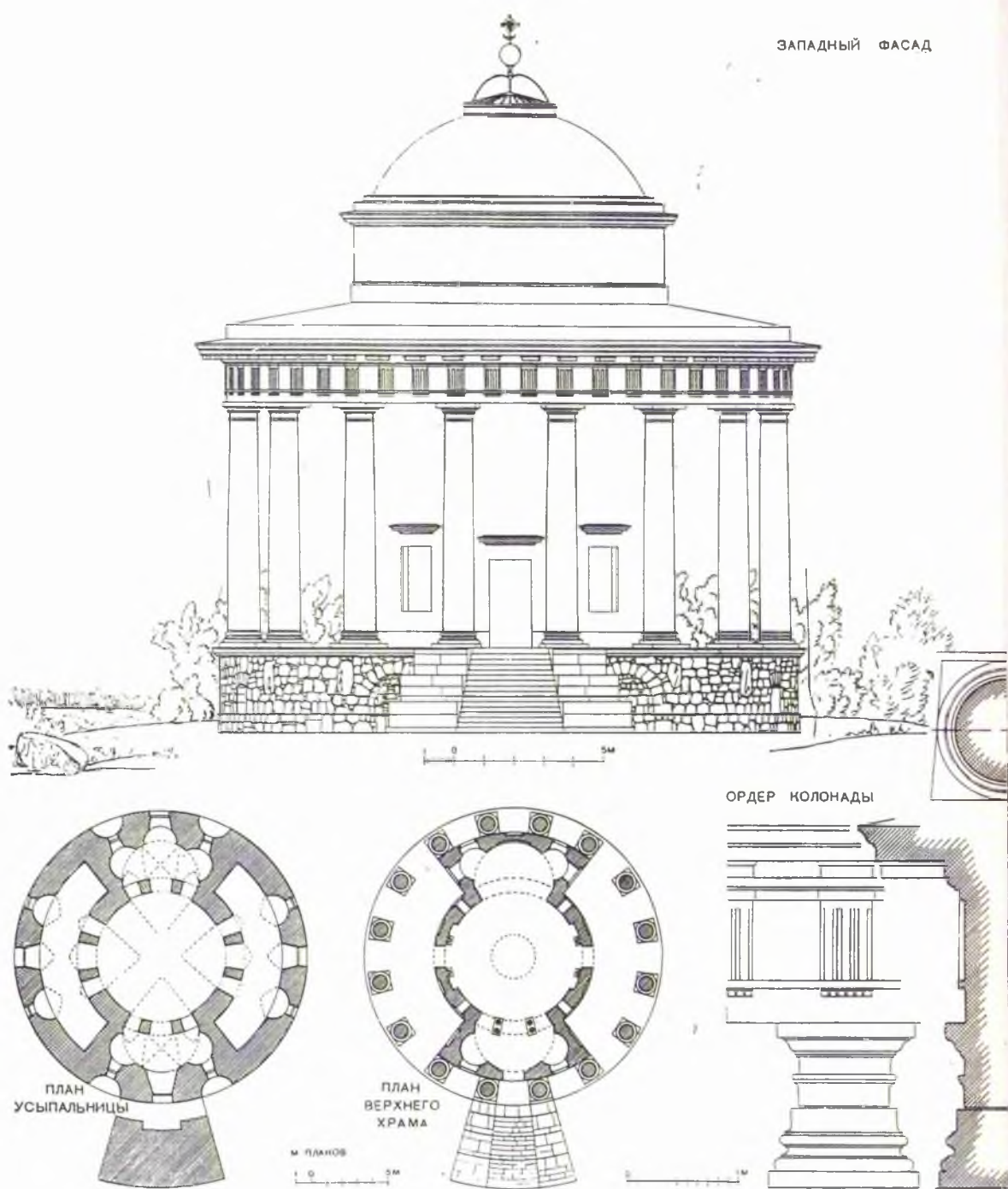
91. Plan of the estate of Nikolskoe.



92. Nikolai L'vov. Rotunda. Nikolskoe. Middle of the 1780s-beginning of the 1800s.



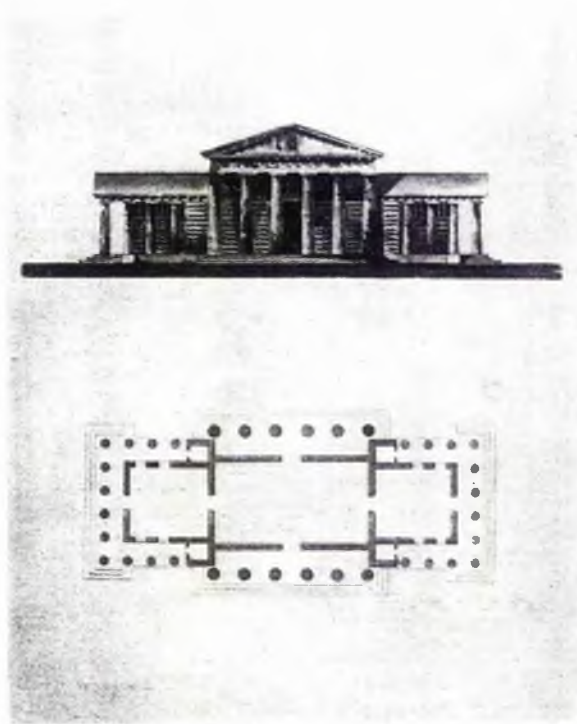
93. Bramante. Tempietto. Rome. Plan, facade elevation and section.



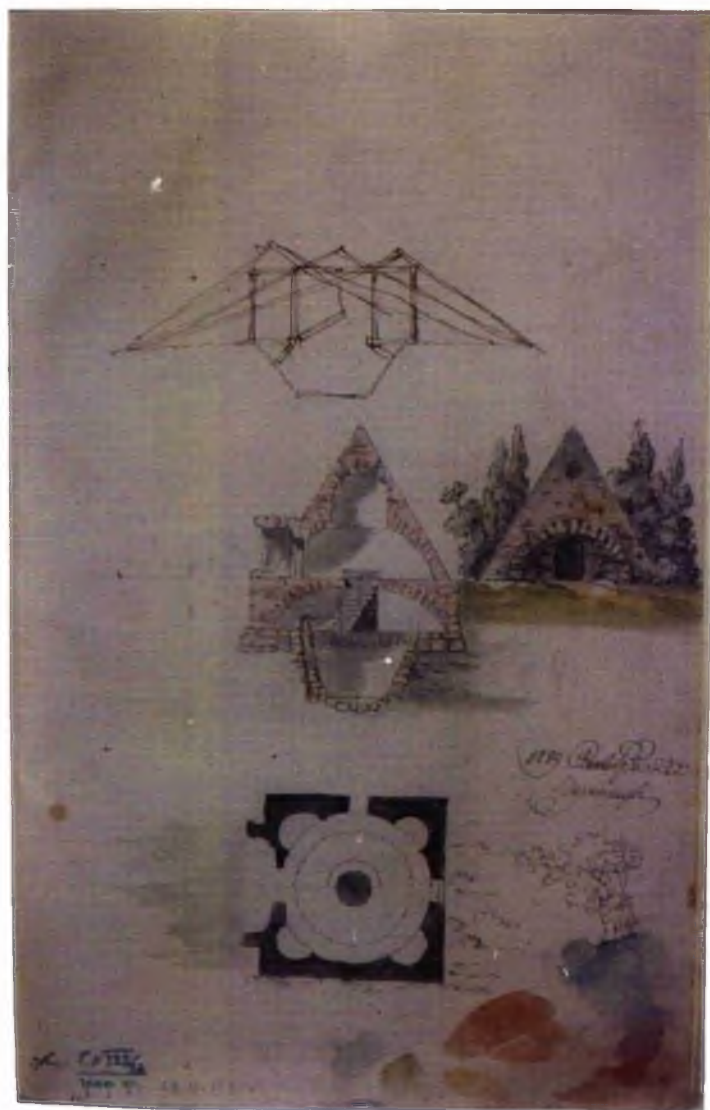
94. Nikolai L'vov. Rotunda. Nikolskoe. Facade elevation, plans of the crypt and the church, details of the order.



95. Nikolai L'vov. Rotunda. Nikolskoe. Detail of the column in the exterior showing the insertion of a stone slab.



96. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the store for fire wood. Nikolskoe.



97. Nikolai L'vov. Pyramid. Nikolskoe.



98.Detail of the painting on the vault in the interior of the pyramid. Nikolskoe.



99. Nikolai L'vov. The church of the Holy Trinity.
St. Petersburg. 1785-1787.



100. Giacomo Quarenghi. Sketch of a landscape featuring a rotunda and a pyramid.



101. Nikolai L'vov. The smithy. Nikolskoe.



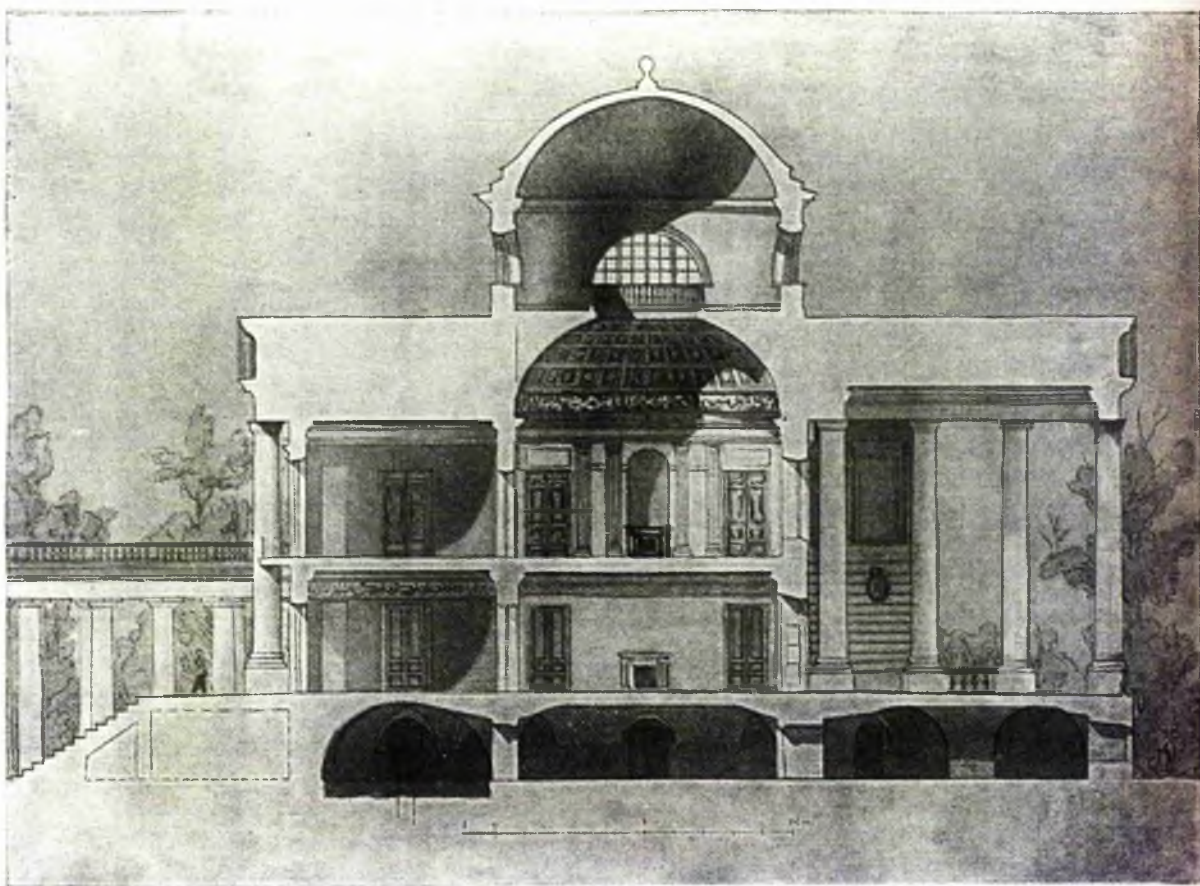
102. Nikolai L'vov. The church and the bell tower.
Arpachiovo. 1783-1791.



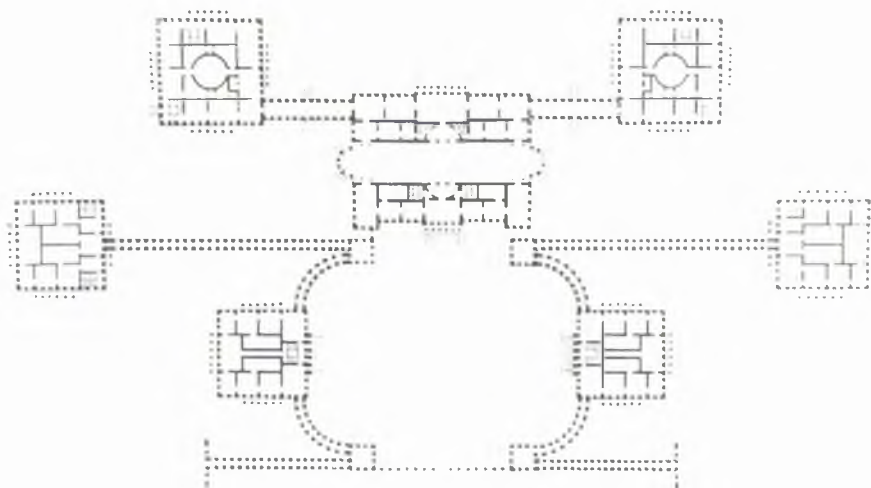
103. Nikolai L'vov. The bell tower. Arpachiovo.



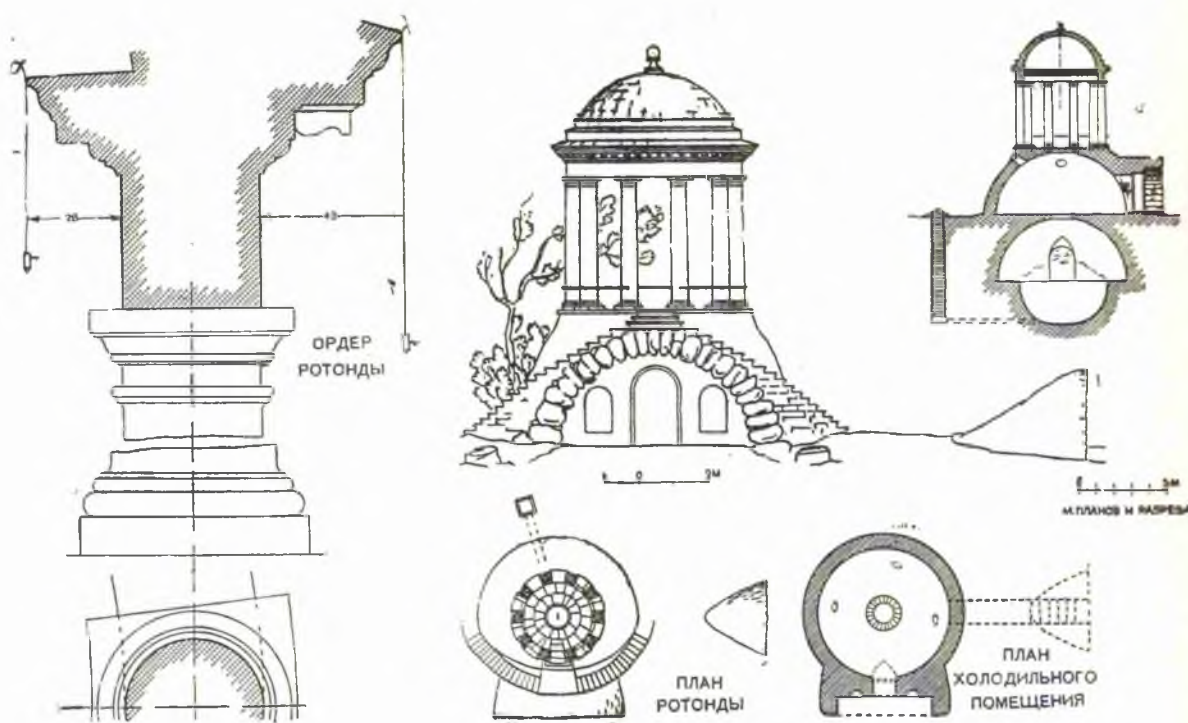
104. The house on the estate of Znamenskoe. Near Torzhok.
Late 1780s-1790s.



105. The house on the estate of Znamenskoe.
Late 1780s-1790s. Section.



106.Ivan Starov. The Imperial Palace at Pella. Near St.Petersburg.
Started in 1785. Plan.



107.The store. Znamenskoe. Details of the order, facade elevation,
section, plans of the rotunda and the underground store.



108.A garden pavilion. Znamenskoe. Facade elevation and plan.



109.Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. The front elevation of the House for Mlle Guimard. Chaussée d'Antin. Paris. 1770.



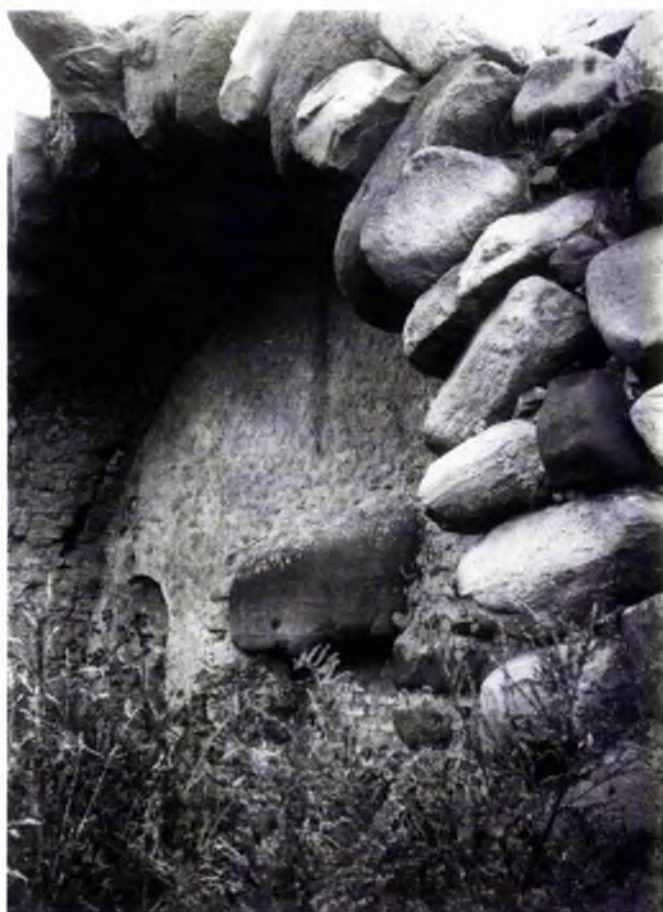
110. Chapel on Vasilieva hill. Znamenskoe.



111. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Rotunda in the park of Monceau. 1780s.



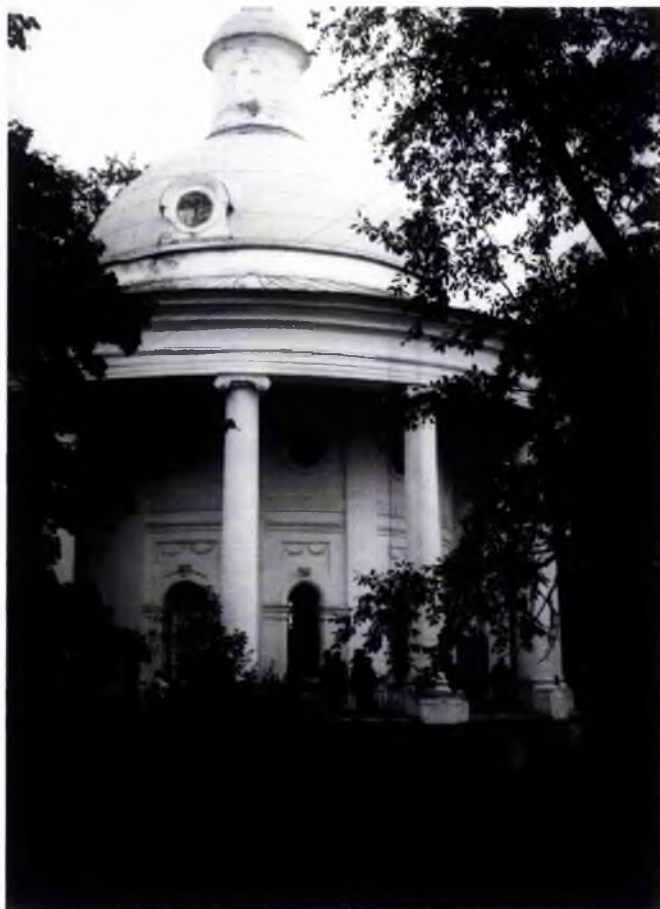
112. The vine cellar. Mitino. Near Torzhok. End of the eighteenth century.



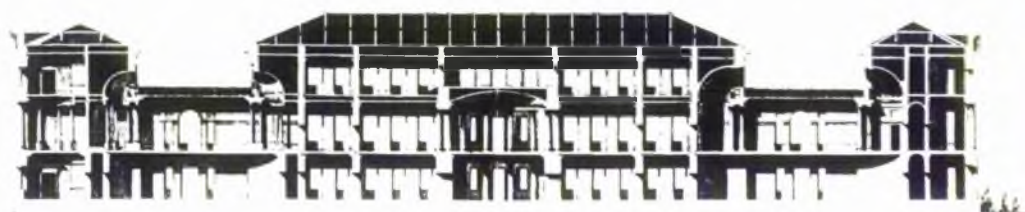
113. Roughcast on the portal of the vine cellar. Mitino.



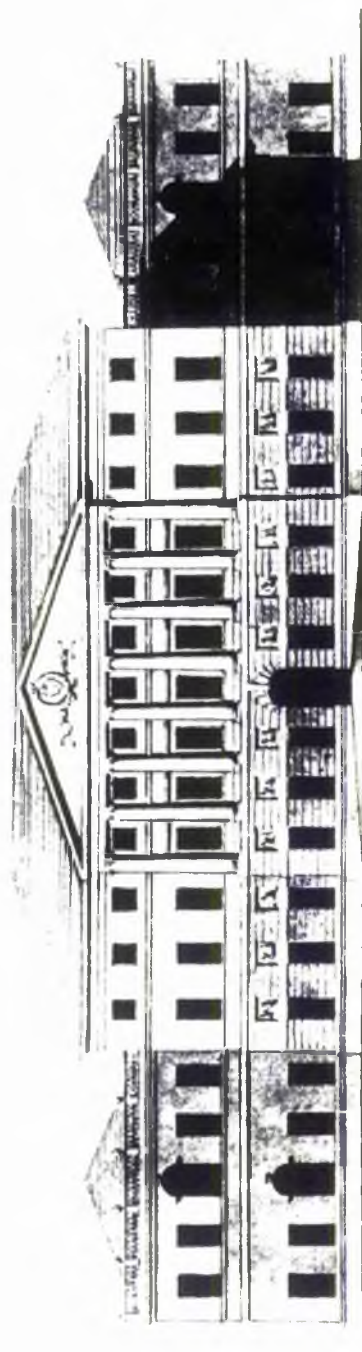
114. Nikolai L'vov. 'The devil's bridge'. Vasiliovo. Near Torzhok. 1790s.



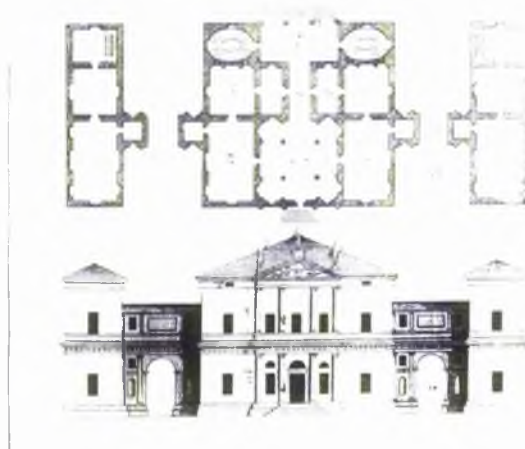
115. Nikolai L'vov. The church of St. Catherine. Valdai. 1791.



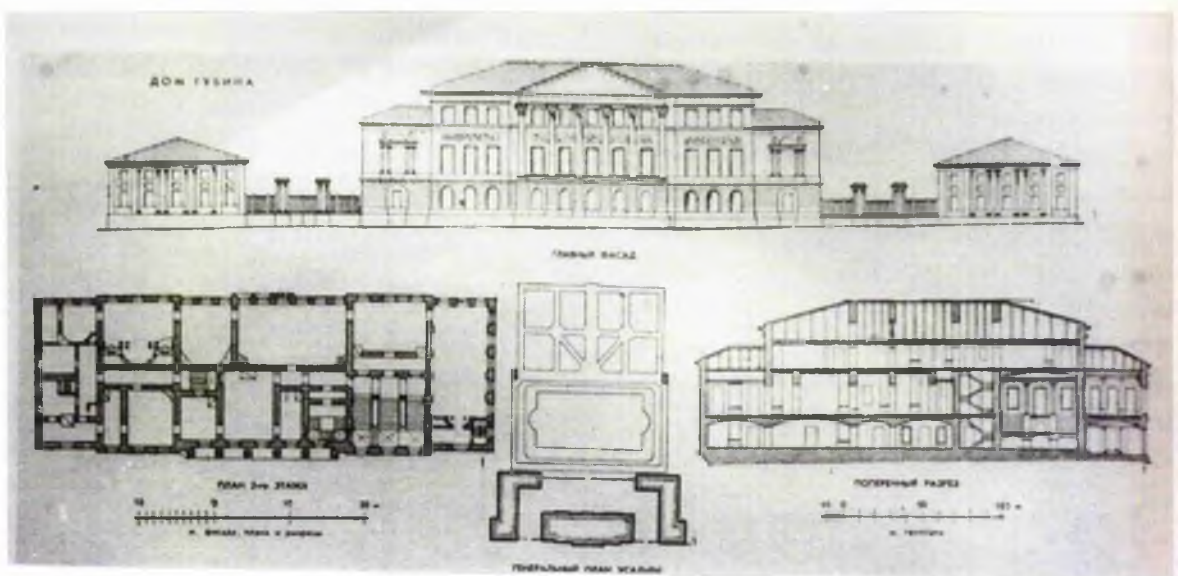
116. Nikolai L'vov. Designs for the house of Artemii Ivanovich Vorontsov.
 Facade elevation and section. Voronovo. 1790s.



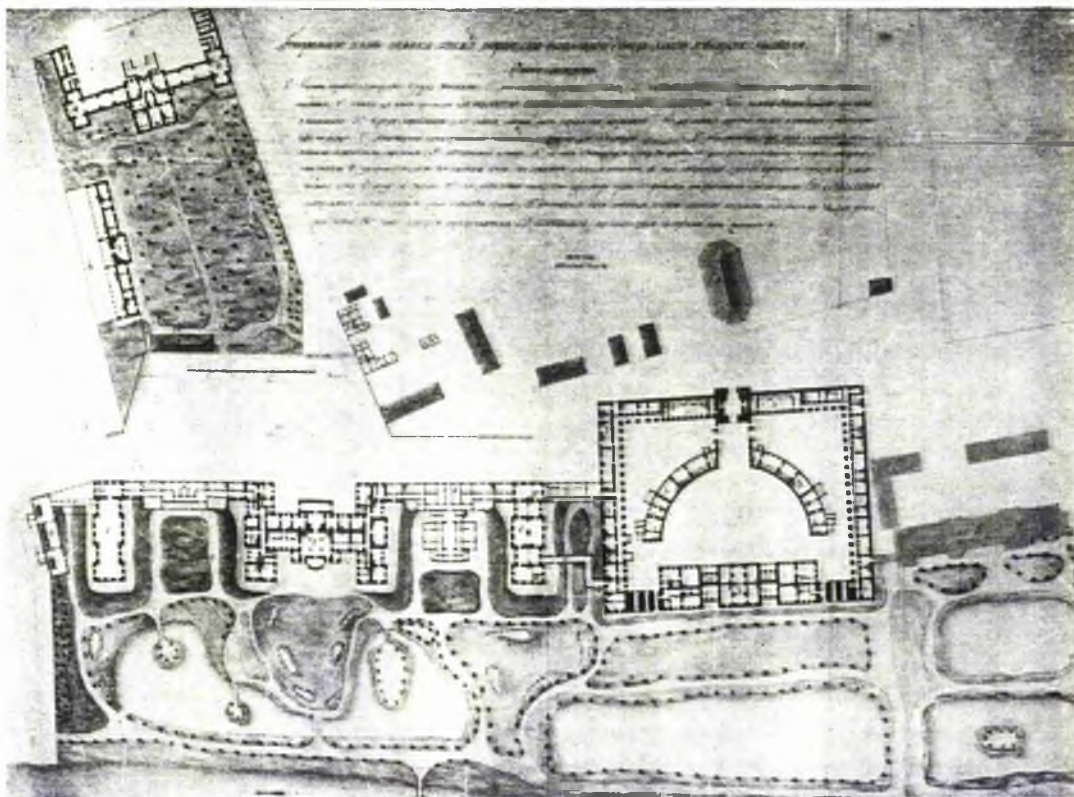
117. Giacomo Quarenghi. Design for the Palace of Lord Haggerston.
 Facade elevation. Northumberland. 1777.



118. Andrea Palladio. Design for the villa Pisani. Near Montagnana.
Plan and facade elevation.



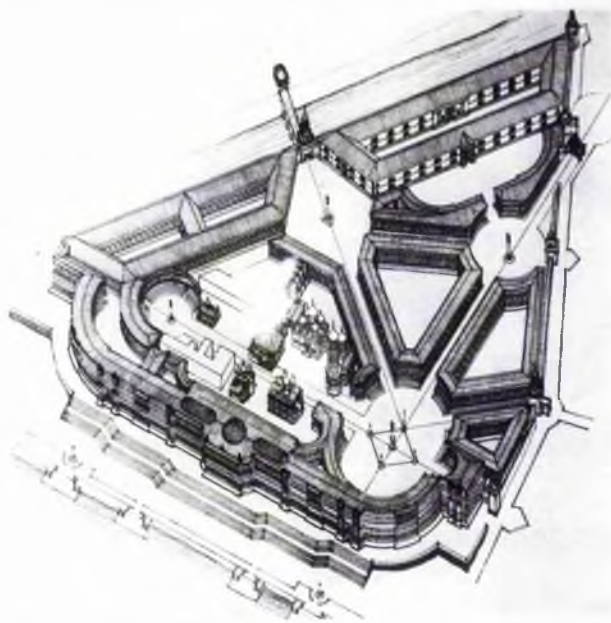
119. Matvei Kazakov. The house of Mikhail Pavlovich Gubin on
Petrovka street. Moscow. 1790s.



120. Matvei Kazakov. Design for the reconstruction of the Slobodskoi and Lefortovskii Palaces. Plan. Moscow, 1797.



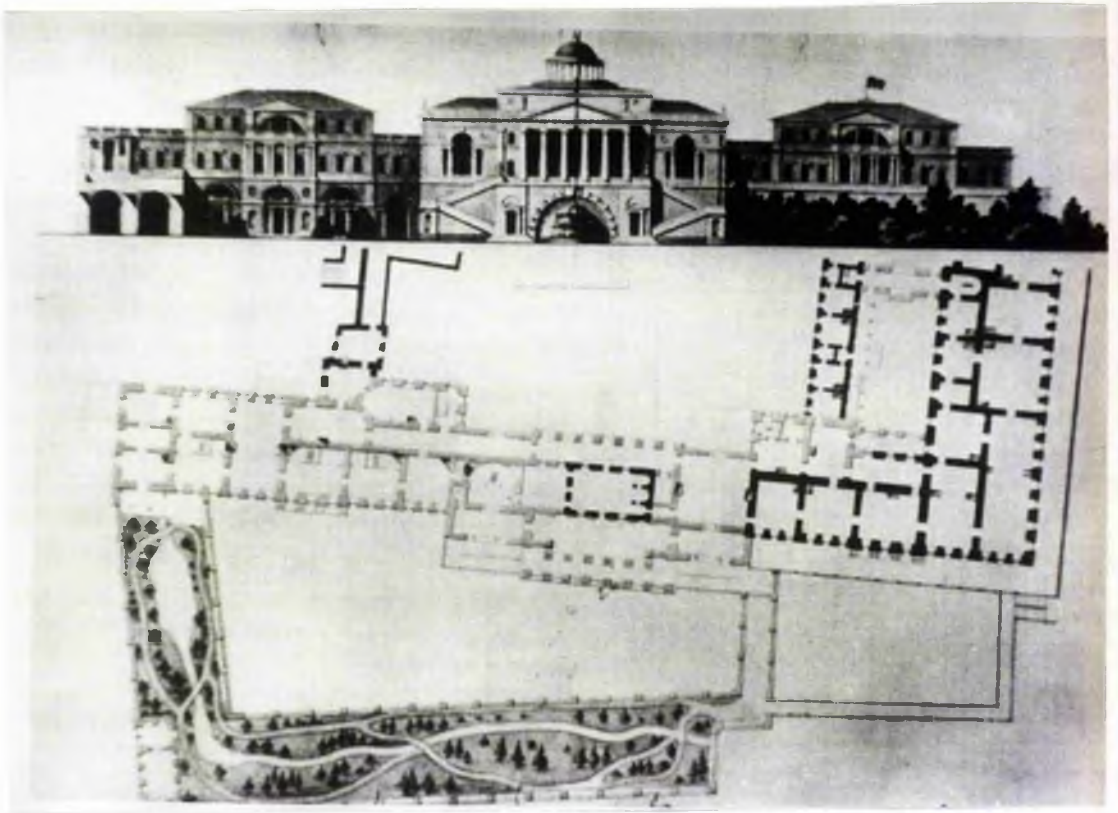
121. Vasilii Bazhenov. The Great Kremlin Palace. Facade elevation.



122. Vasilii Bazhenov. Project for the reconstruction of the Kremlin. Moscow.



123. Matvei Kazakov. Project for the reconstruction of the Kremlin. Moscow. View of the Kremlin from the south and plan.



124. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Kremlin Palace. Moscow.
Facade elevation and plan.

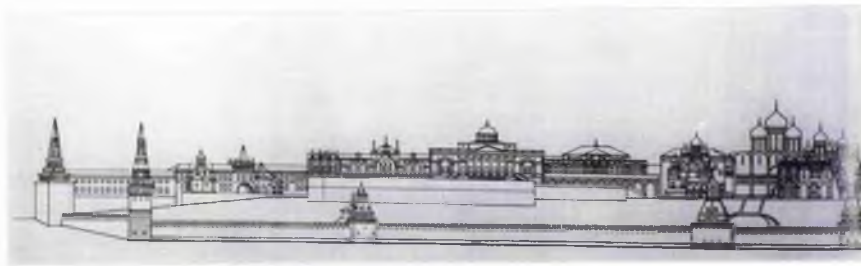


250 Wanstead House, London, II



260 Wanstead House, London, III

125. Colen Campbell. Designs for Wanstead II and Wanstead III.



126.Nikolai L'vov. Design for the Kremlin Palace with a Neo-Gothic wing. Reconstruction.



127.Nikolai L'vov. Design for the part of the Kremlin Palace allocated for the use of the Grand Dukes on the Sytnyi courtyard. 1797.

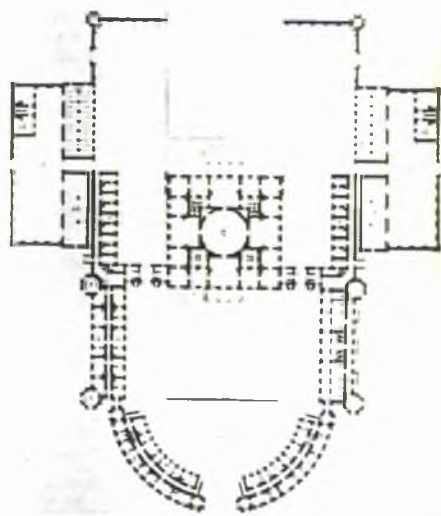
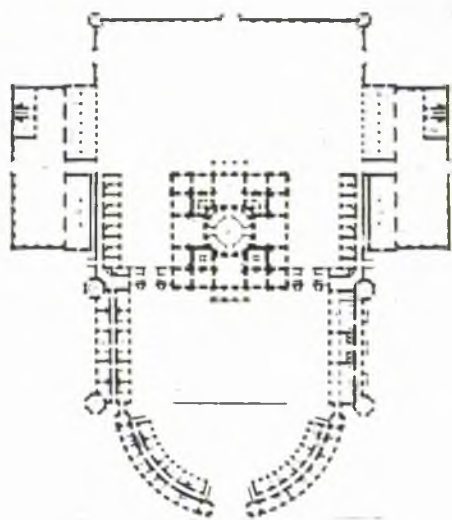


128. Nikolai L'vov. An illustration to Catherine the Great's play The Initial Governing of Oleg representing the Palace of the Princes of Kiev. 1791.

Крепость Петровская в Москве



Матвей Казак



129. Matvei Kazakov. Petrovskii castle. Moscow. 1775-1782.

Facade elevation, plans of the ground and first floors.



130. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of the Kremlin with the depiction of some ancient structures reconstructed according to old designs and remaining foundations. 1797.



131. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of the Tsars' apartments in the Kremlin on the Boyars' square, the Golden grill, the <churches> of the Saviour on the Forest and the Saviour on the Entrance-hall behind the Golden grill. 1797.



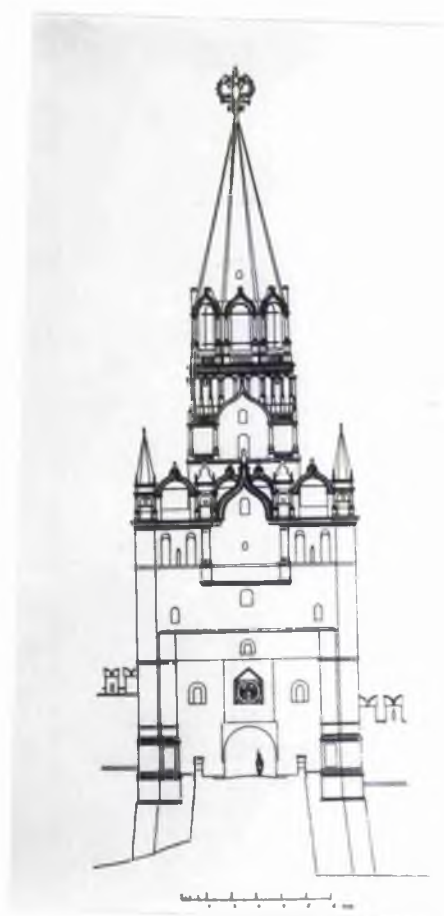
132. View of the Terem Palace. Middle of the eighteenth century.
Engraving based on a drawing by M.I. Makhaev.



133. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of the Ivanovskaia square,
the two famous Cathedrals, the Chamber of the Facets and
the Red Stairway. 1797.



134. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of the Cathedral of the Intercession on the Moat and the Saviour's gates. 1797.



135. The Trinity tower. The Moscow Kremlin. Second half of the seventeenth century. Facade elevation.



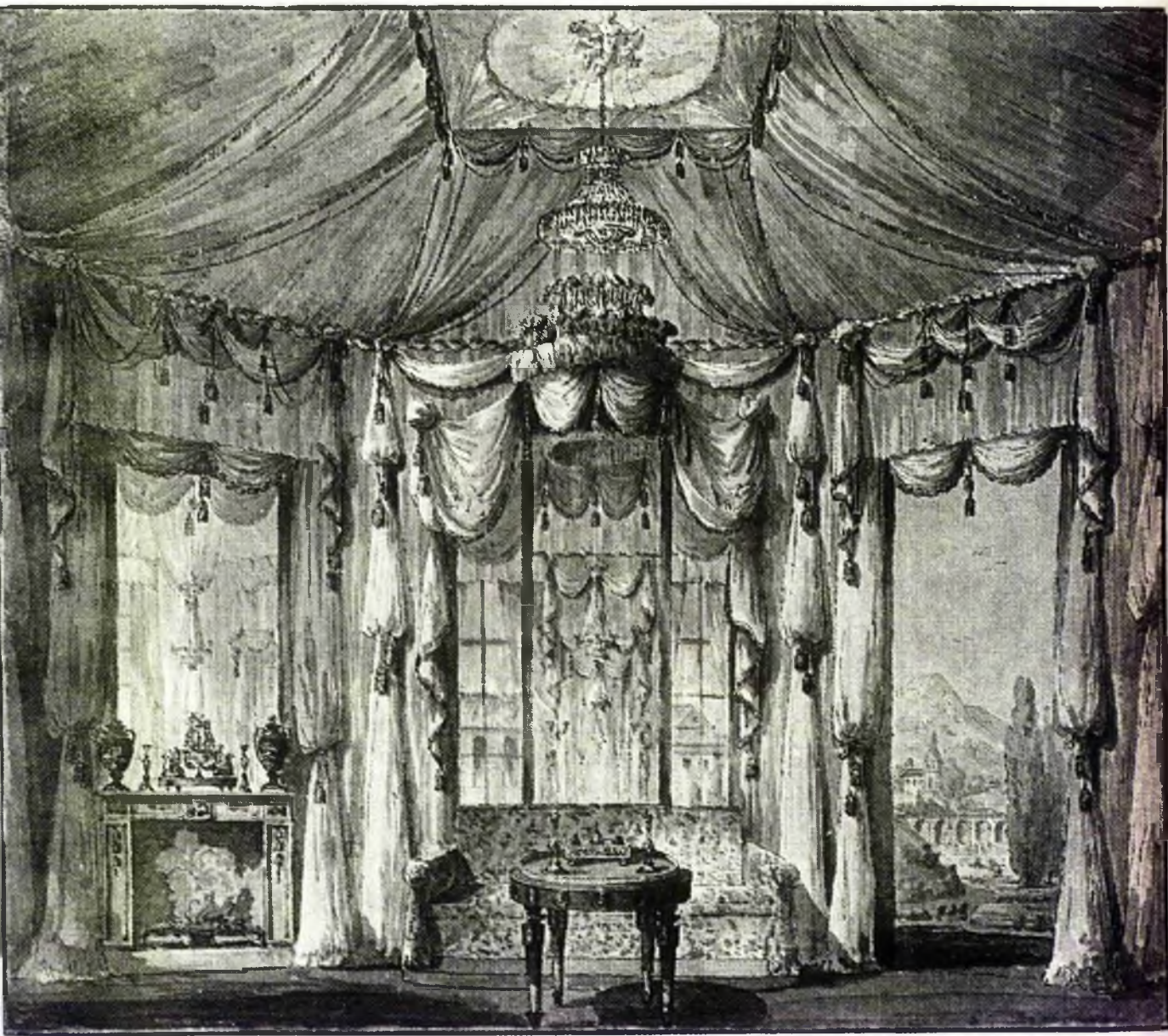
136. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of the church of the Assumption on Pokrovka and the house of Prince Gagarin on Tverskaia. 1797.



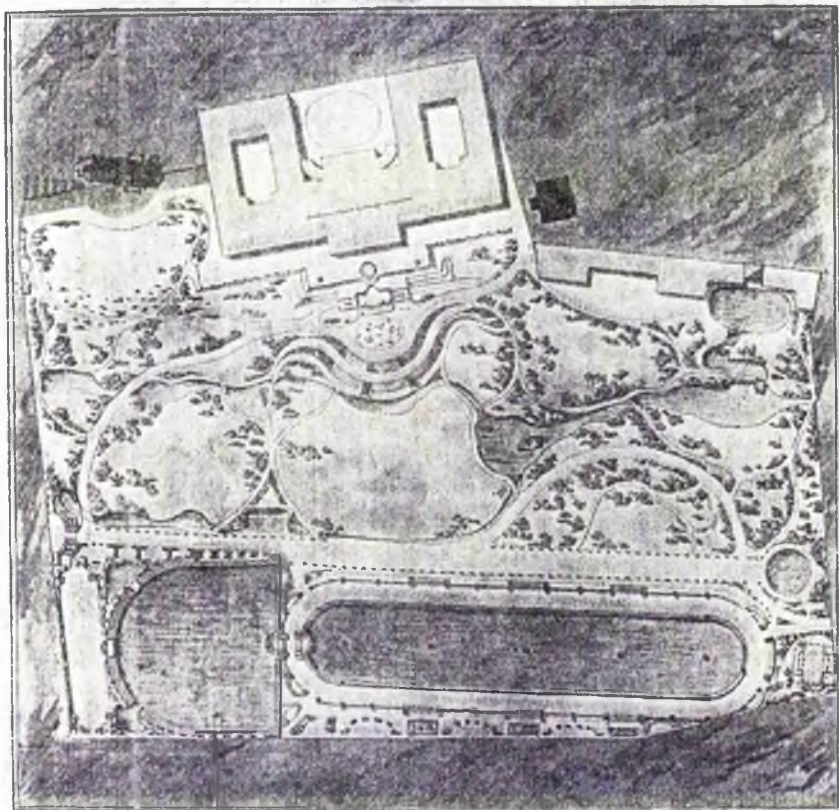
137. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of the village of Kolomenskoe in its ancient condition depicted from the river Moskva. 1797.



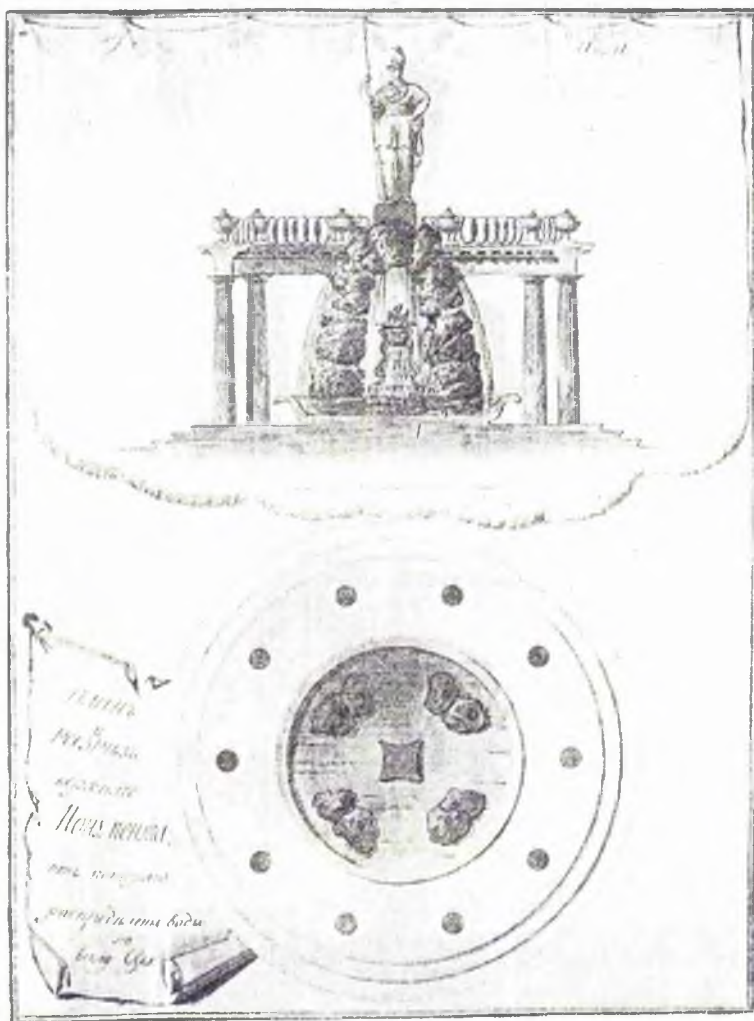
138. Giacomo Quarenghi. View of the Stavropigal'nyi Voskresenskii (Resurrection) monastery called New Jerusalem. 1797.



139. Nikolai L'vov. Design for the boudoir of the residence of Prince Alexander Bezborodko. Moscow. 1797-1799.



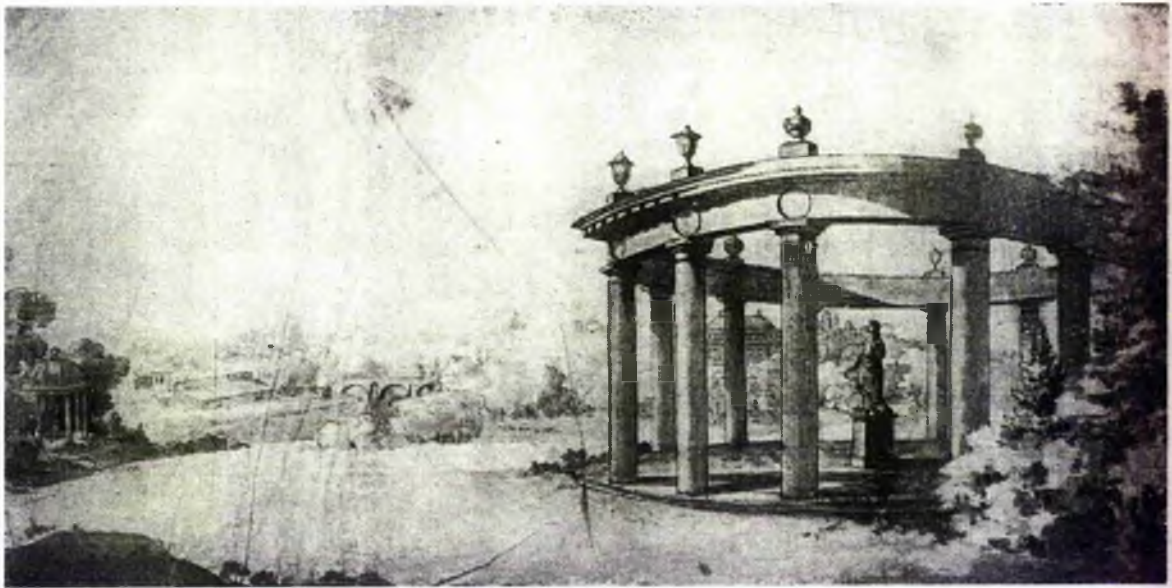
140. Nikolai L'vov. Plan of the park of Prince Bezborodko in Moscow. From the album of the designs for the park of Prince Bezborodko in Moscow. 1797-1799.



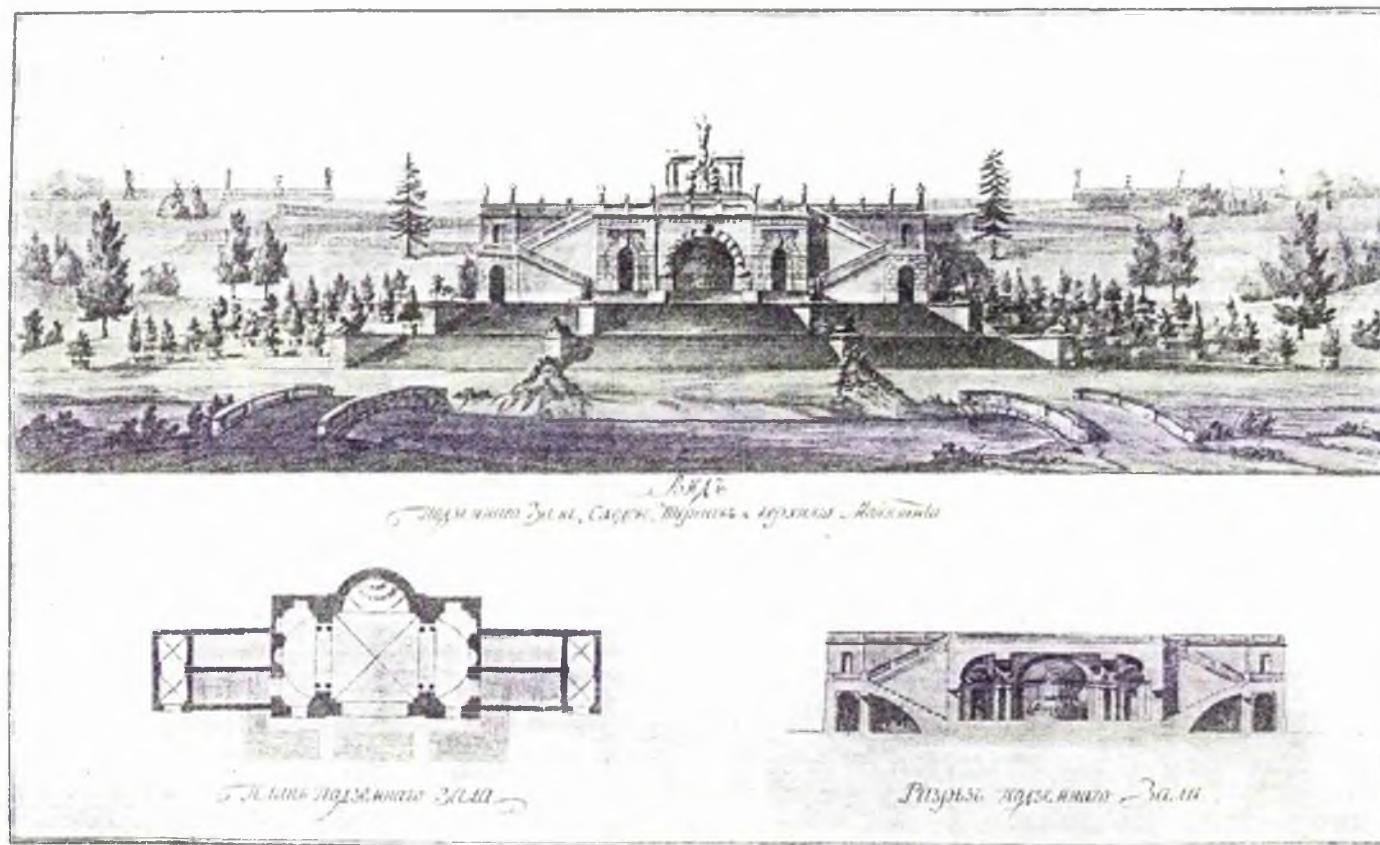
141. Nikolai L'vov. The design for the 'upper monument' in the park of Prince Bezborodko in Moscow. Section and plan.



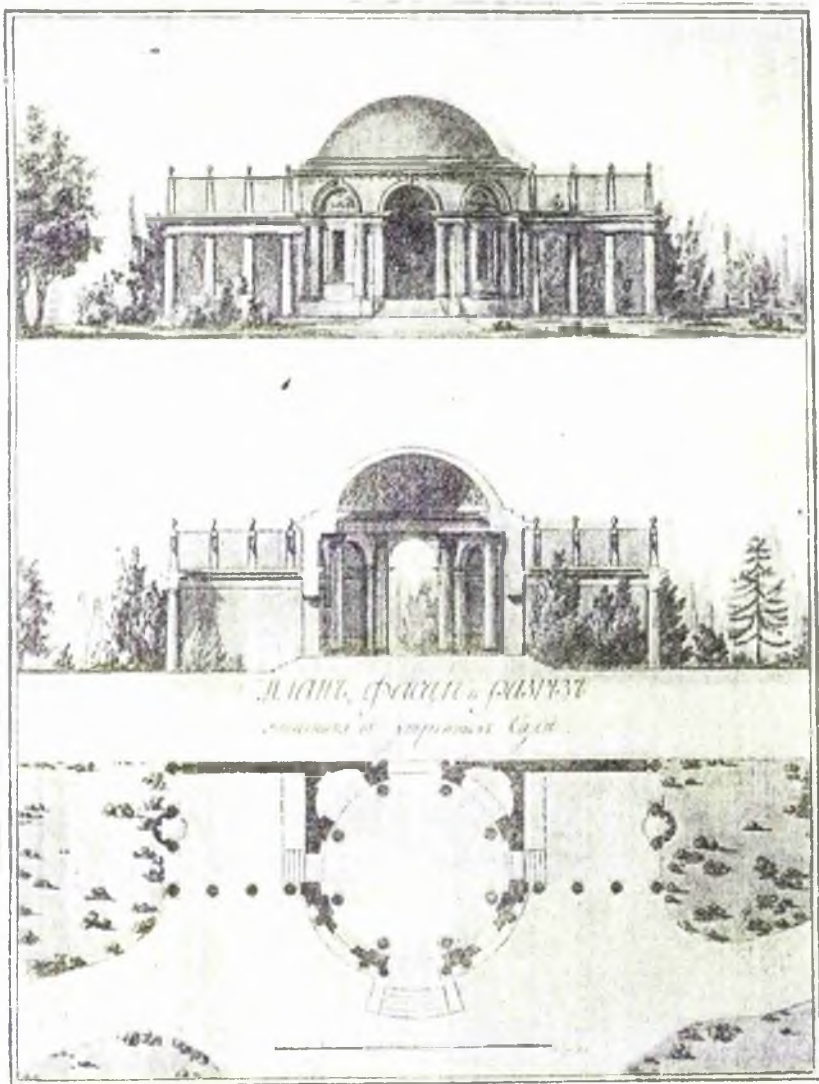
142. Temple of Ceres in the park of Alexandrova. Near Pavlovsk.
1780s. Engraving.



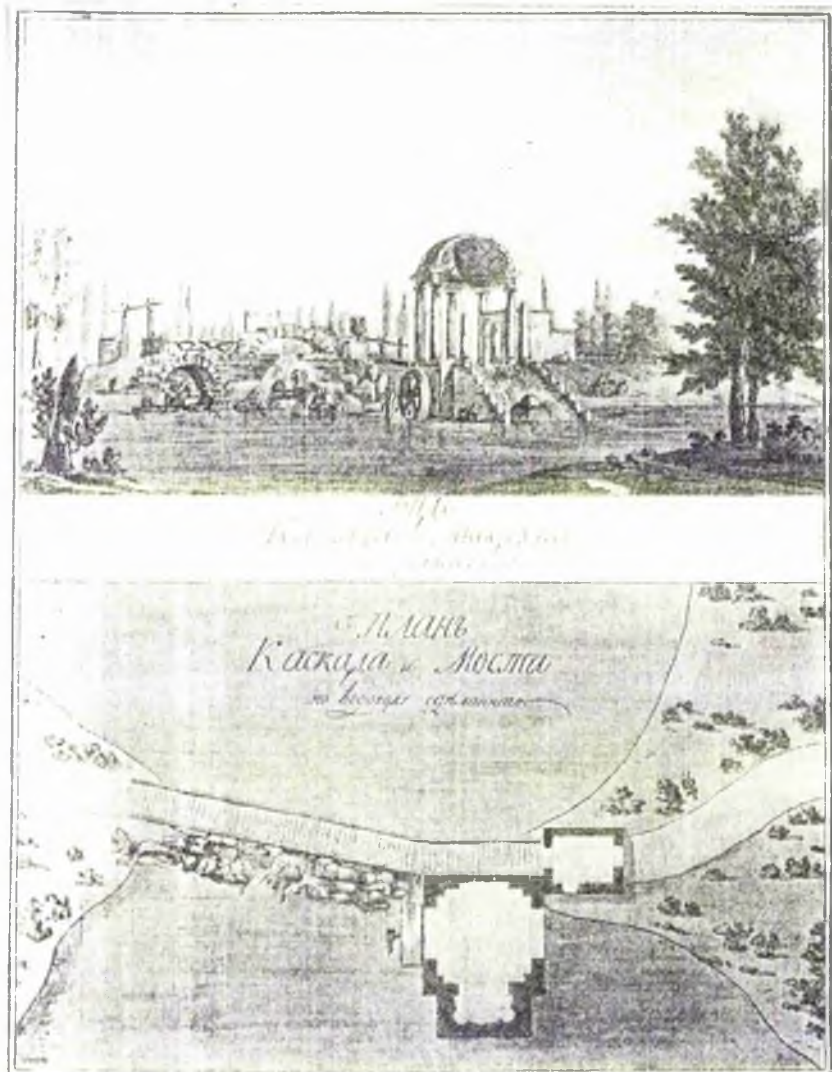
143. Nikolai L'vov. Temple of Ceres in the park of Alexandrova. Drawing.



144. Nikolai L'vov. View of the underground hall, ramps, terrace and upper monument. Plan of the underground hall. Section of the underground hall.

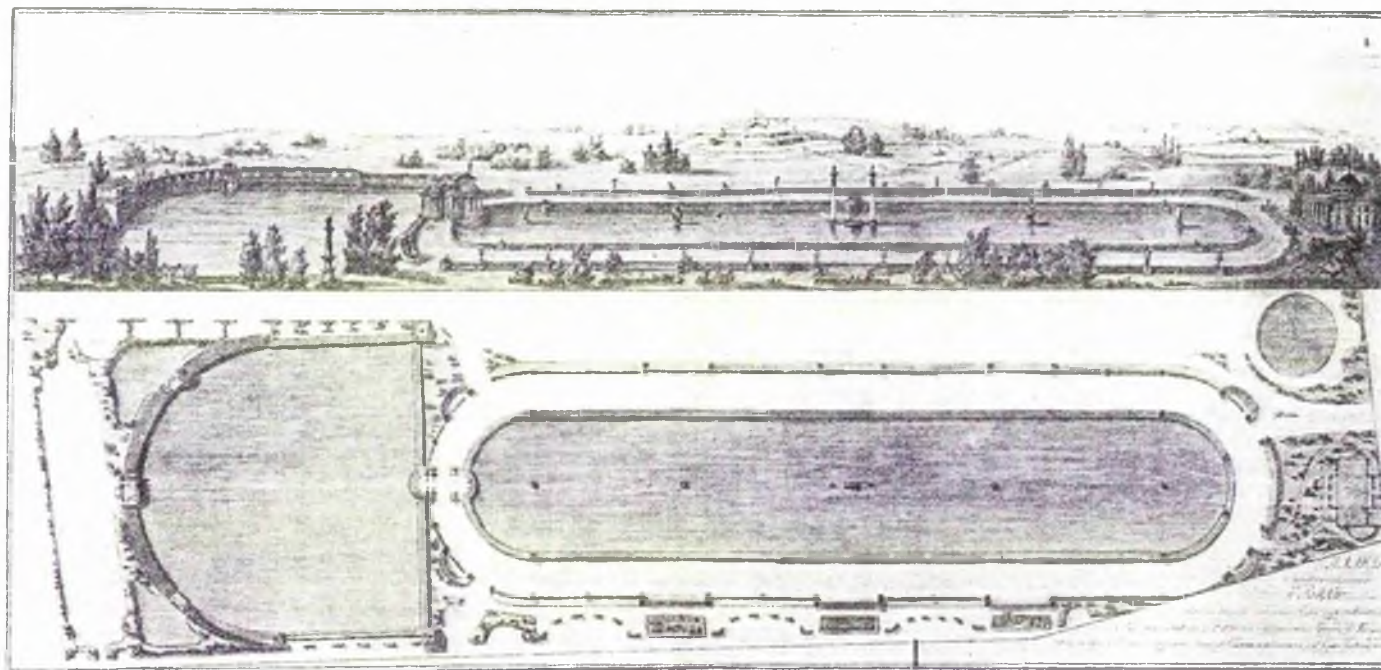


145. Nikolai L'vov. Plan, facade and section of the birdhouse in the morning garden.

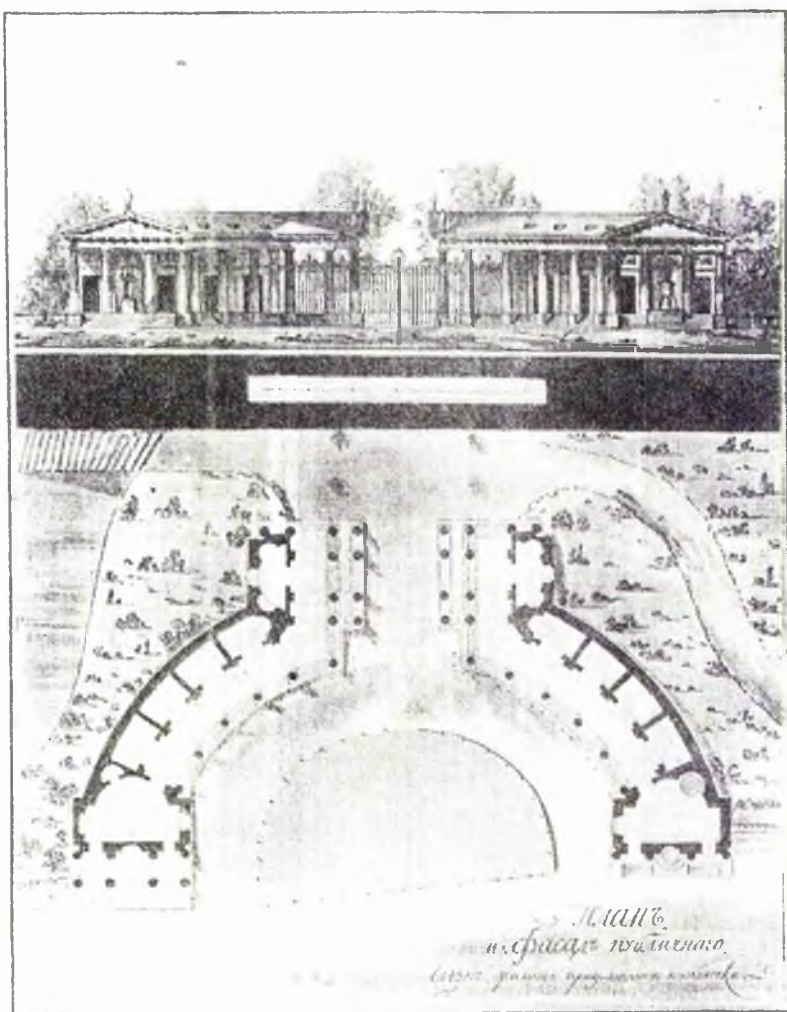


146. Nikolai L'vov. View of the ruined cascade and aqueduct.

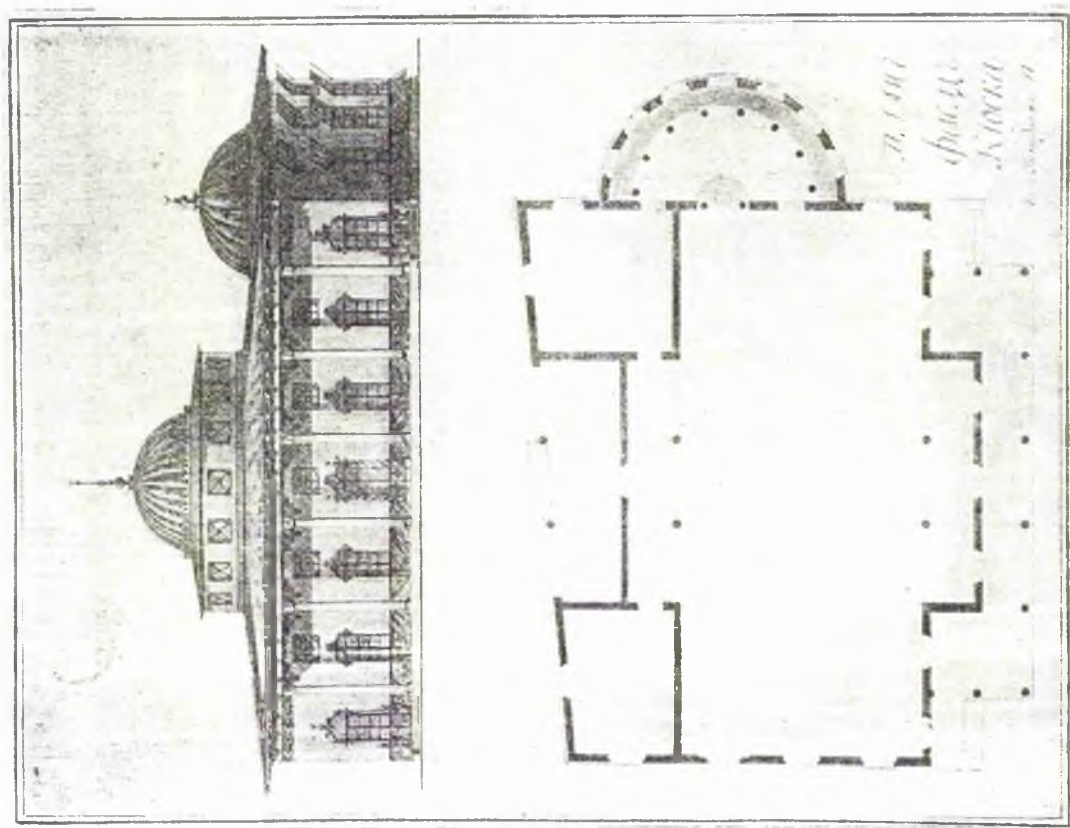
Plan of the cascade and bridge, made on the water conduit.



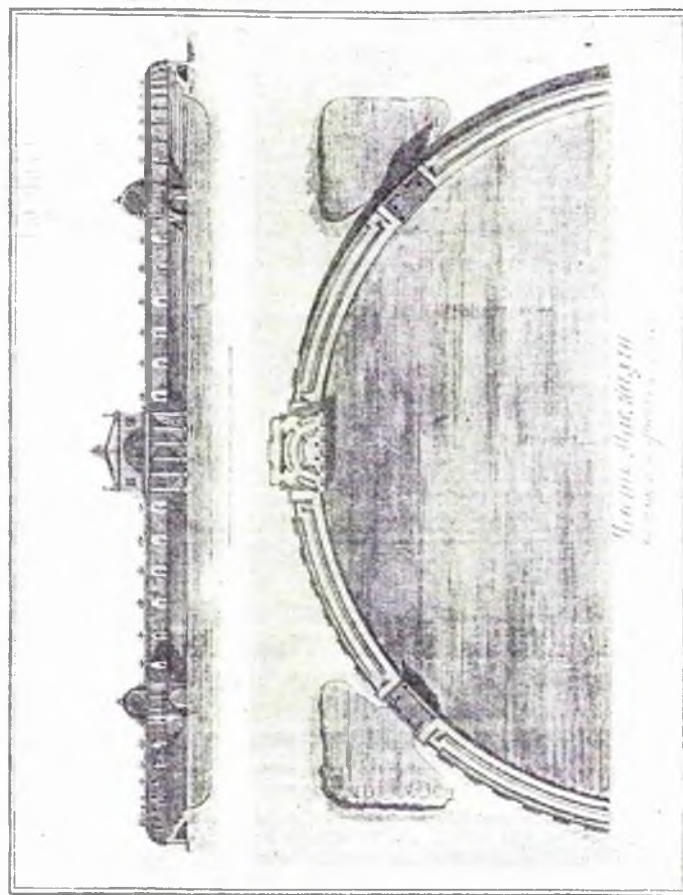
147. Nikolai L'vov. View of the evening promenade,
the Naumachia, Likea and hippodrome.



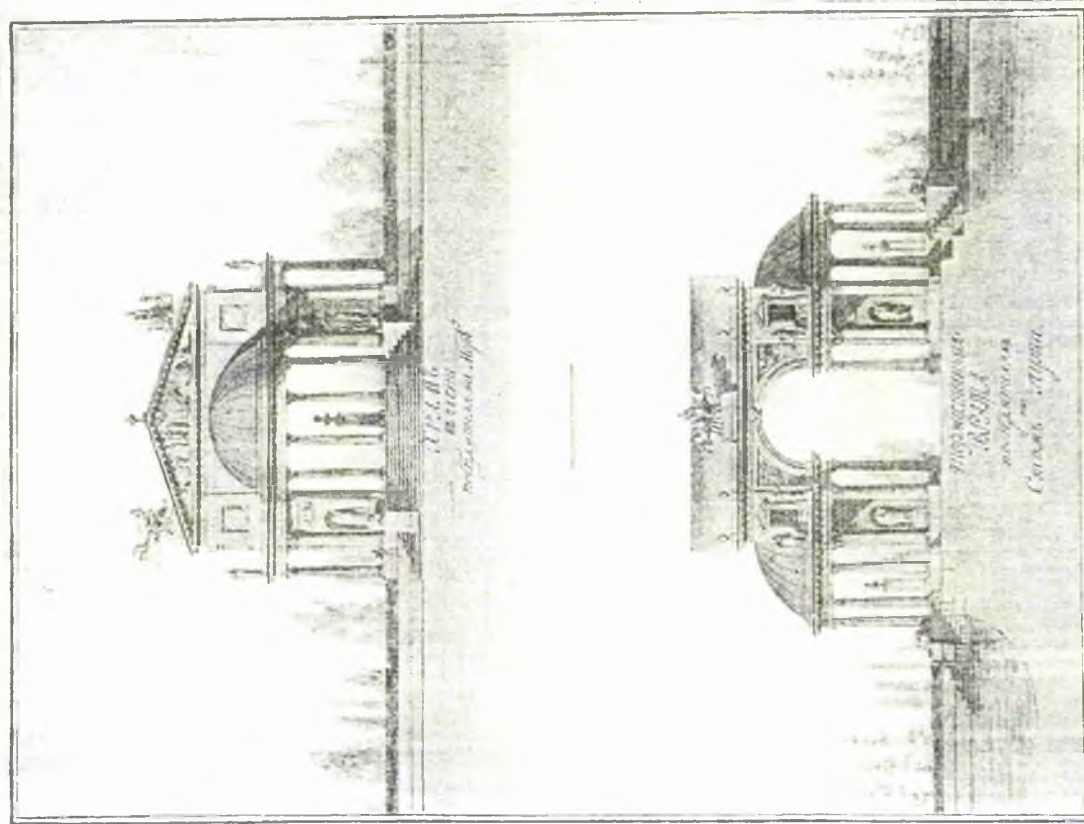
148. Nikolai L'vov. Plan and facade of the public entrance, the dwelling of the gatekeeper and shops.



149. Nikolai L'vov. Plan and facade of the kiosk.



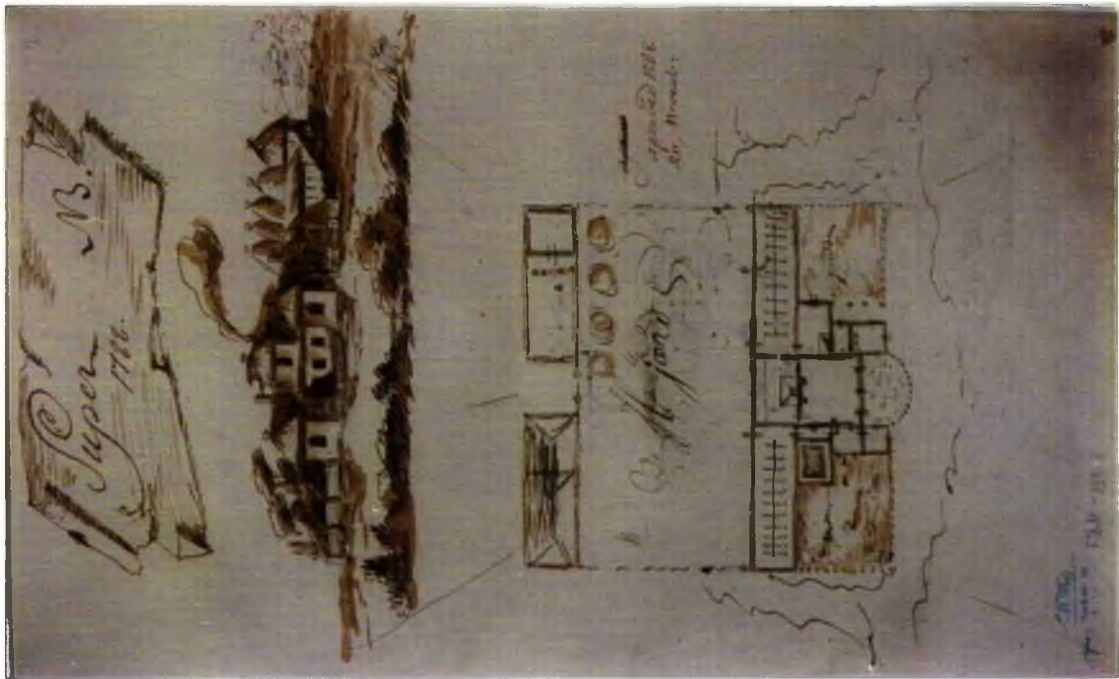
150. Nikolai L'vov. Plan and facade of the Naumachia.



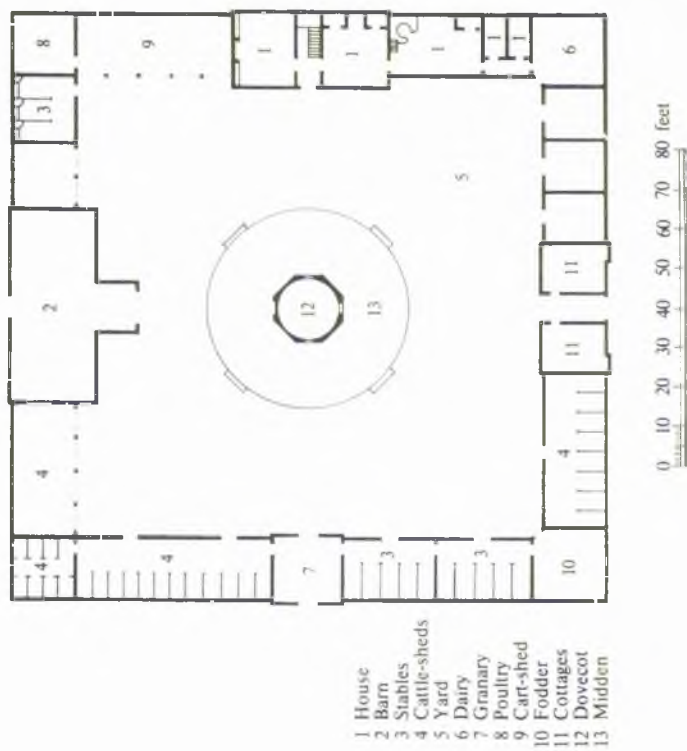
151. Nikolai L'vov. Temple to the victors at sea.
Triumphal gates to the victors on land.



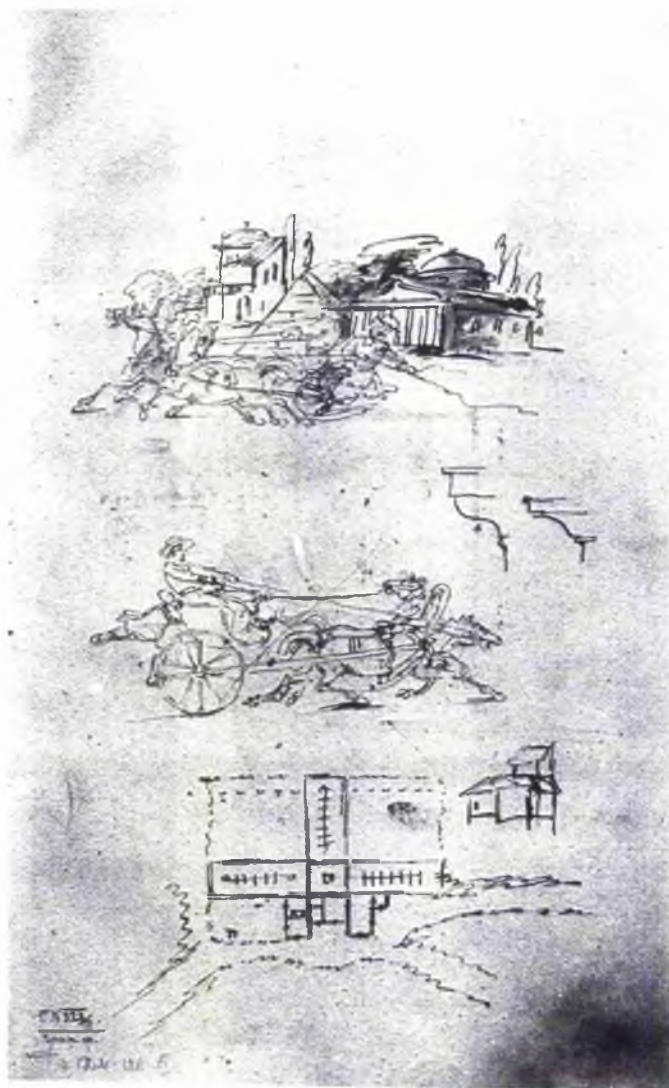
152. Andrei Bolotov. View of the park at Bogoroditsk.
Near Tula. Water-colour.



153. Adam Menelaws. Design for a farm. 1788.



154. John Plaw. Design for a monastic farm.

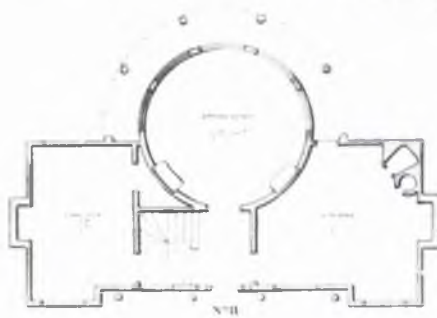
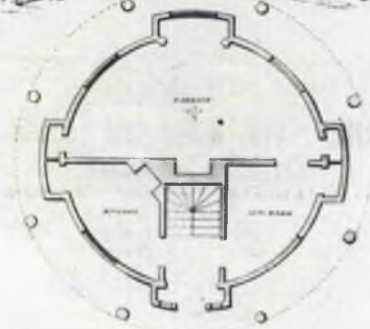
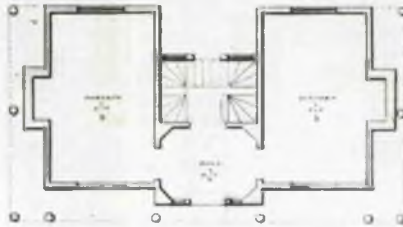


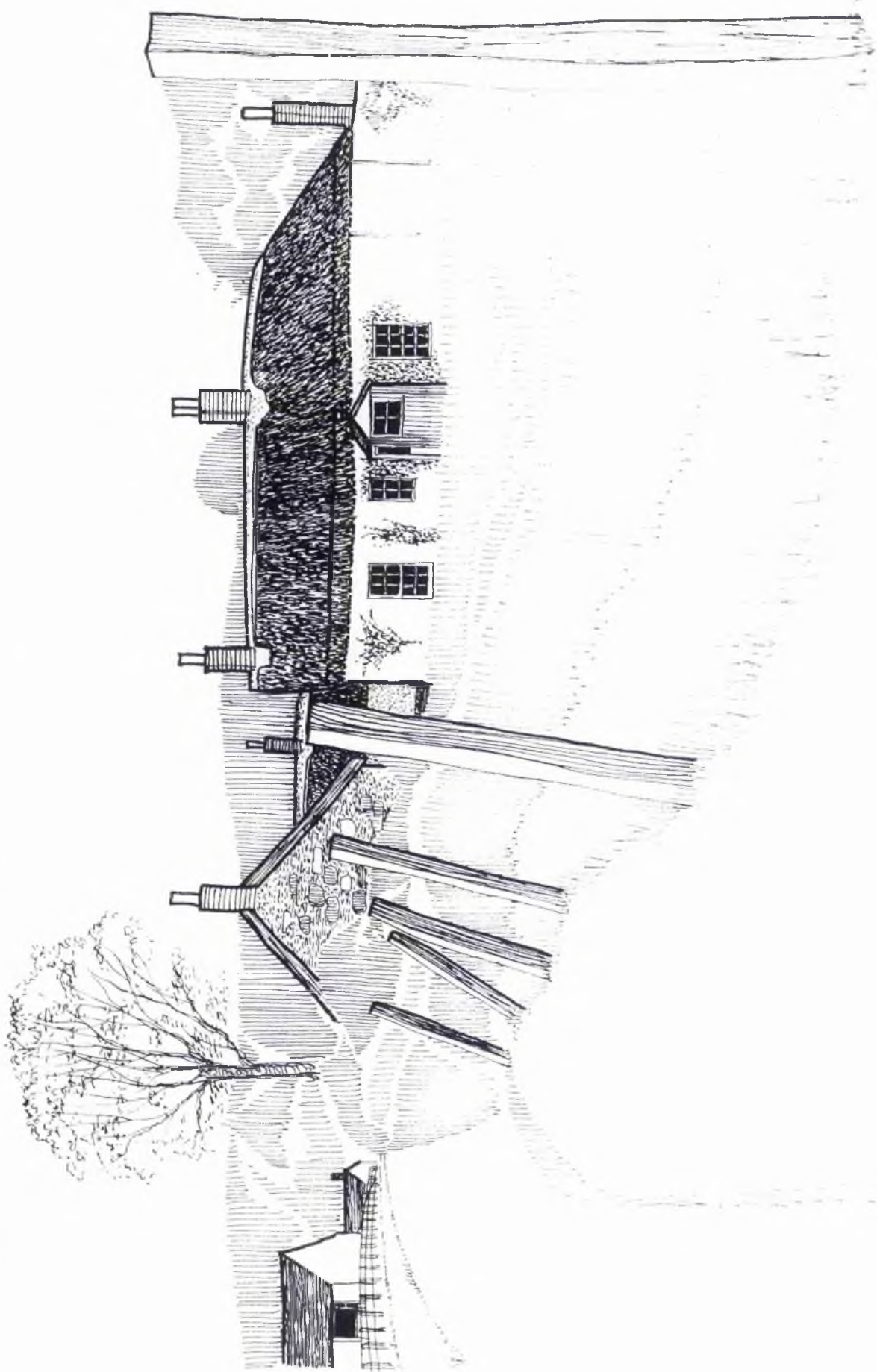
155. Adam Menelaws. Preliminary design for a farm.
Second half of the 1780s.



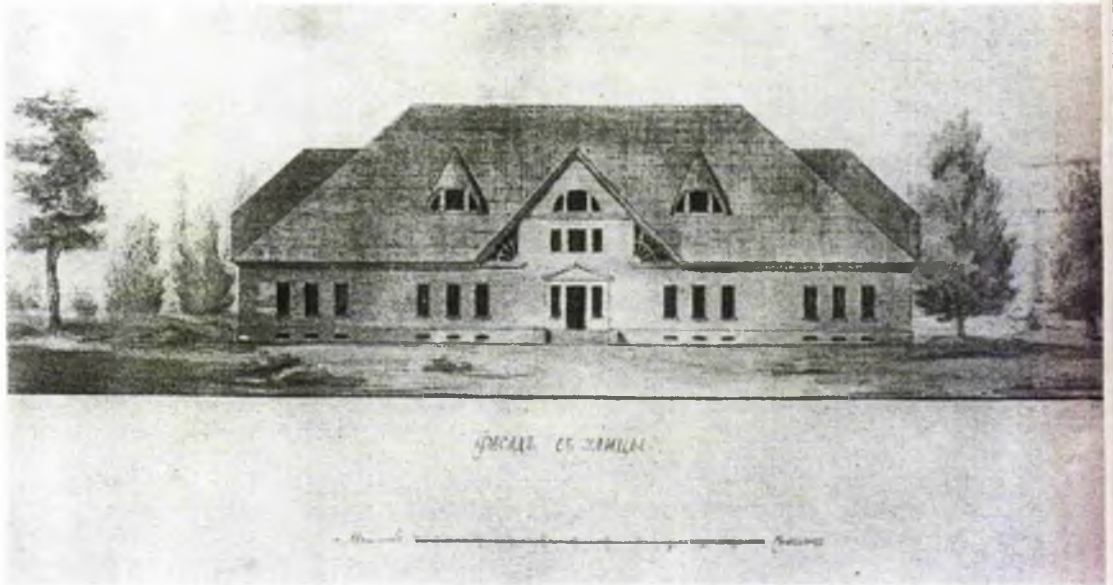
156. Adam Menelaws. Design for an earth cottage. 1793.

DESIGNS FOR COTTAGES.

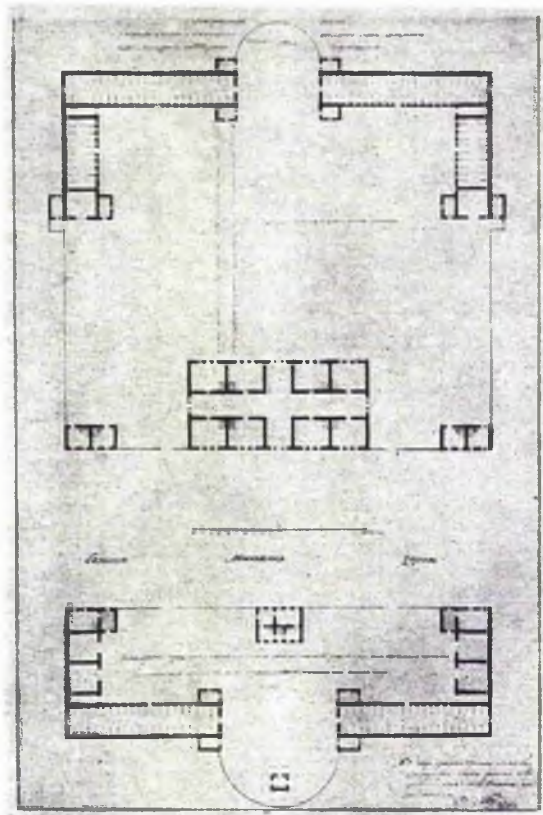




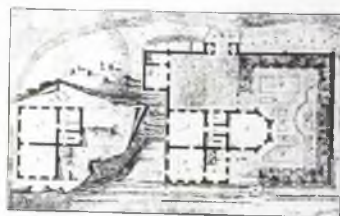
158. Schoolhouse in Cottown, St. Madoes, Perthshire, built from clay in 1745 and renovated in 1766 and 1818.



159.Adam Menelaws. Earth Barracks. Elevation. 1798.



160.Adam Menelaws. Earth Barracks. Plan. 1798.



161. Nikolai L'vov. Designs for the Priorat.

Наружный вид здания из кирпича с
окнами и дверью, построенным



Наружный вид здания из кирпича с
окнами и дверью, построенным





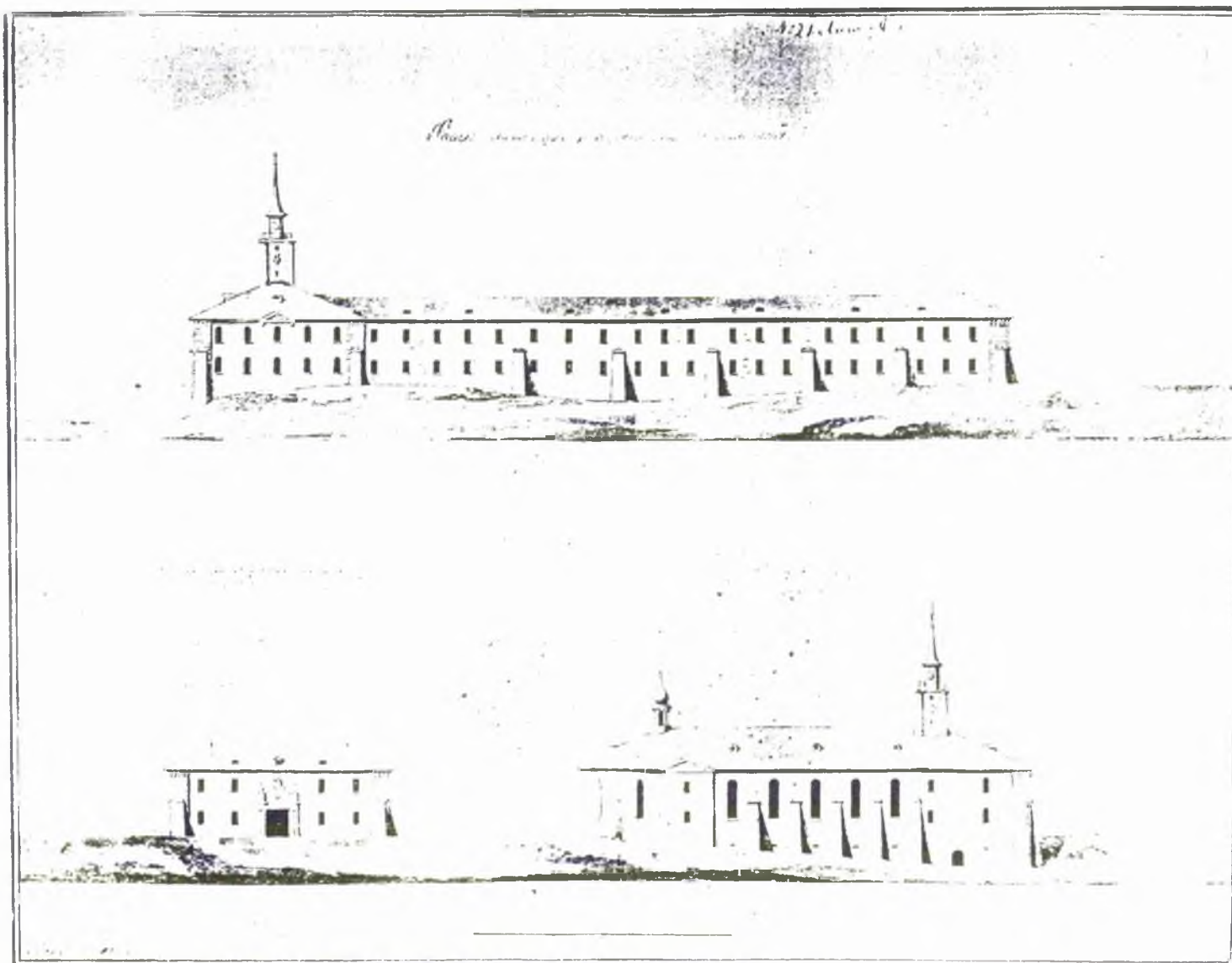
163. Antonio Rinaldi and Vincenzo Brenna. The Grand Palace in Gatchina. 1766-c.1799.



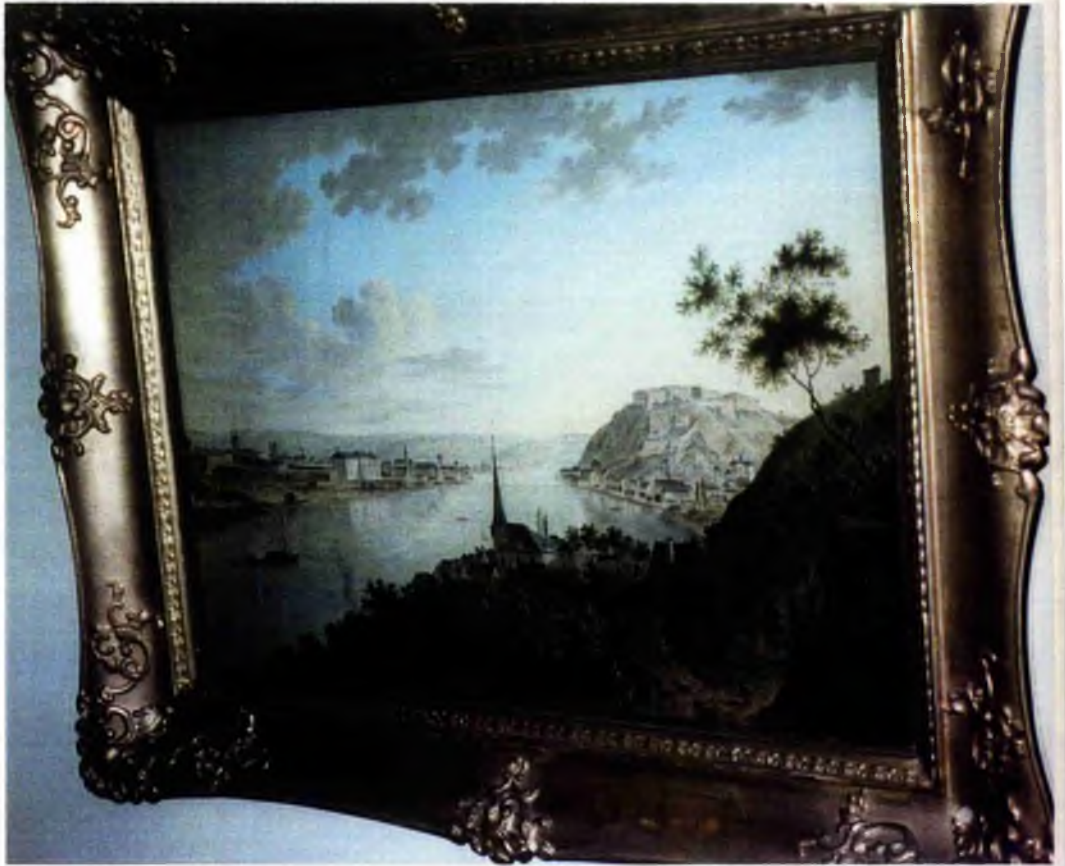
164. Vincenzo Brenna. Bip fortress. 1795-1798.
Engraving by I. Chesky. 1800.



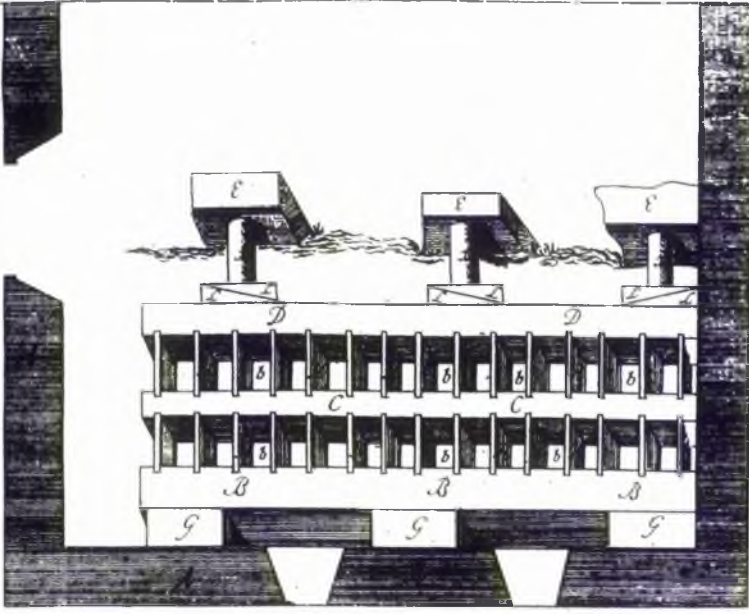
165. Adrean Zakharov. Lutheran Church in the village of Malye Kolpany. Near Gatchina. Late eighteenth century.



166. Adrean Zakharov. Designs for the Monastery of
St. Kharlampii in Gatchina. 1800.



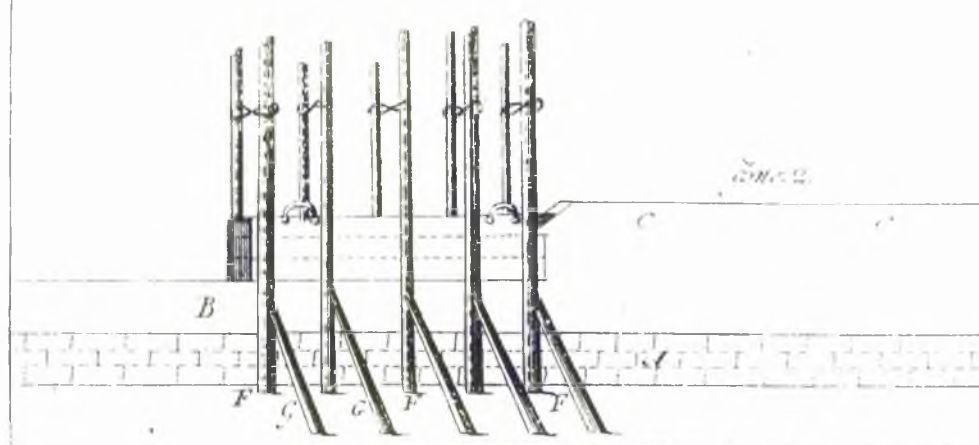
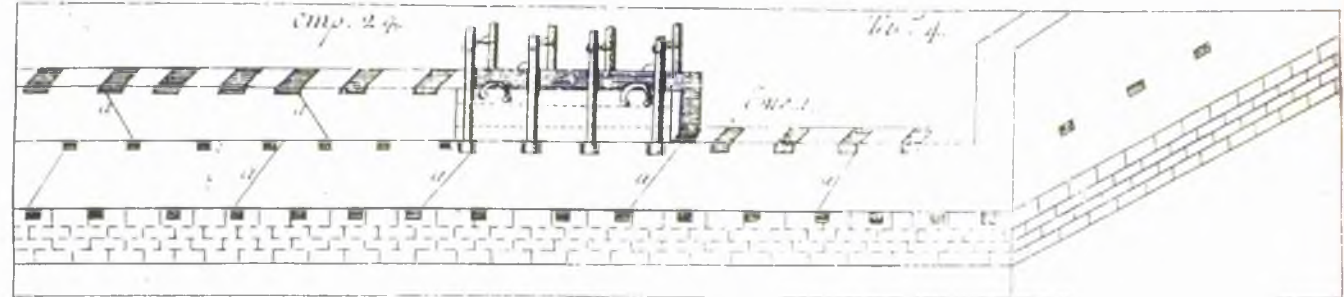
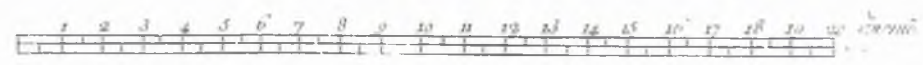
167. A view of a German town. Painting by Gaev.
Middle of the nineteenth century.



См. 48.

См. 48. Служа постройка из кирпича и камня.

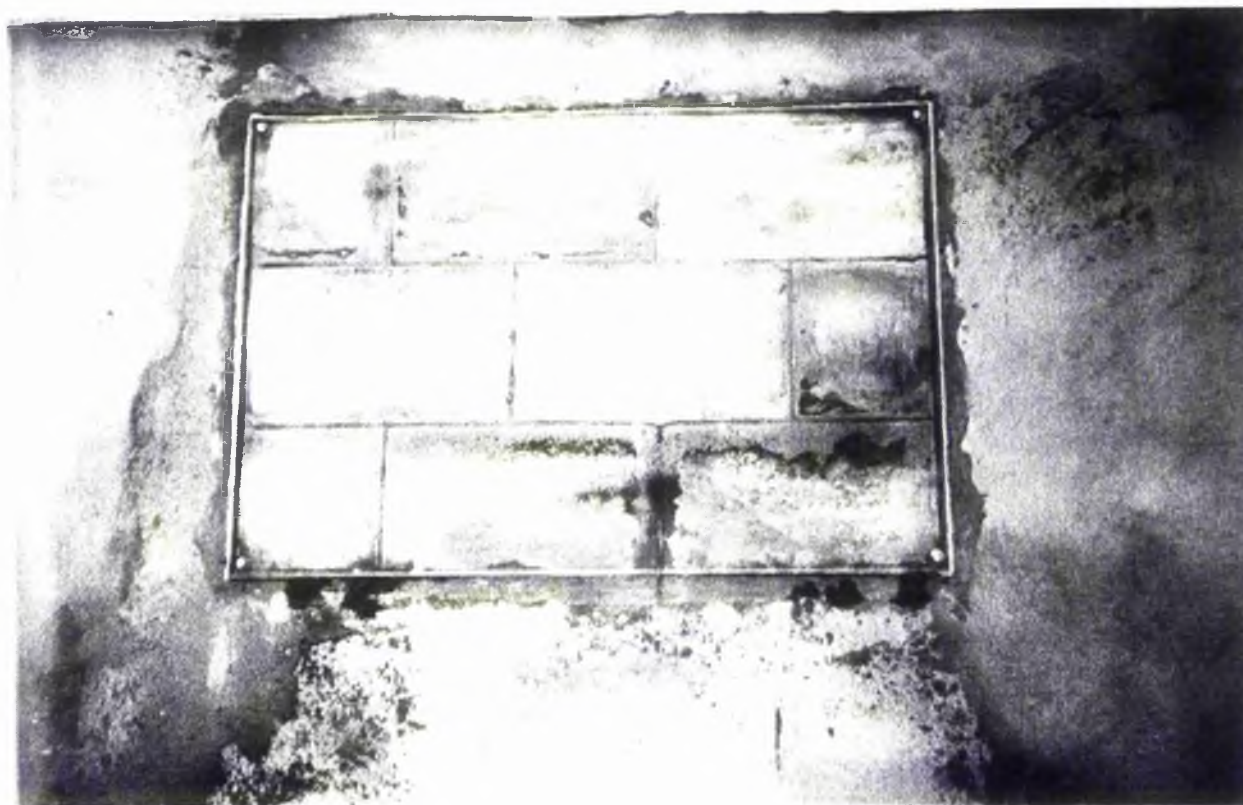
№ 8.



168. Francois Cointeraux. Illustrations of the techniques of earth construction.



169. The Palace of Priorat. Fragment of an earth wall in the interior of the main building with a mark left by a compressing unit.



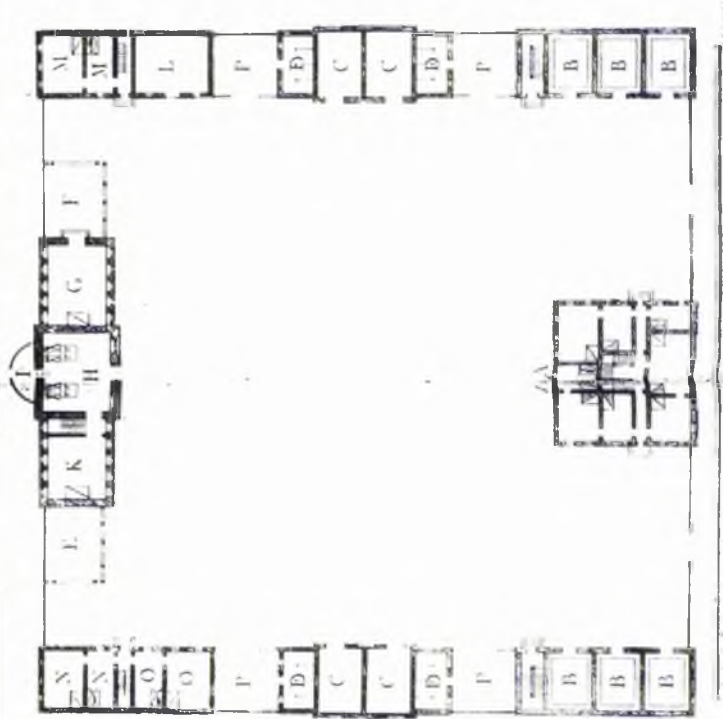
170. The Palace of Priorat. Fragment of the earth fortification.



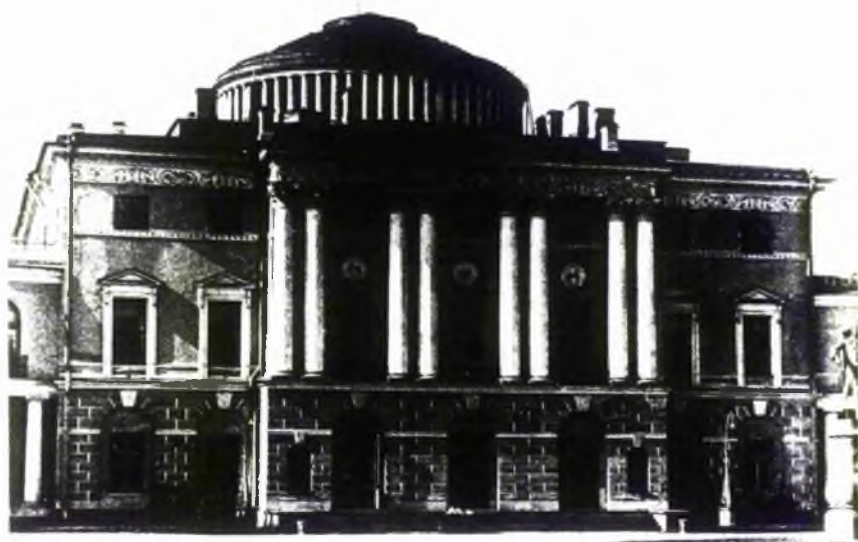
ИЗЪЯСНЕНИЕ ПЛАНА

А Главный корпус и оранжерея
и теплица для растений и садов
до 10 соток. Присоединен к нему
водосток и бассейн для воды
используемой в саду и огороде.

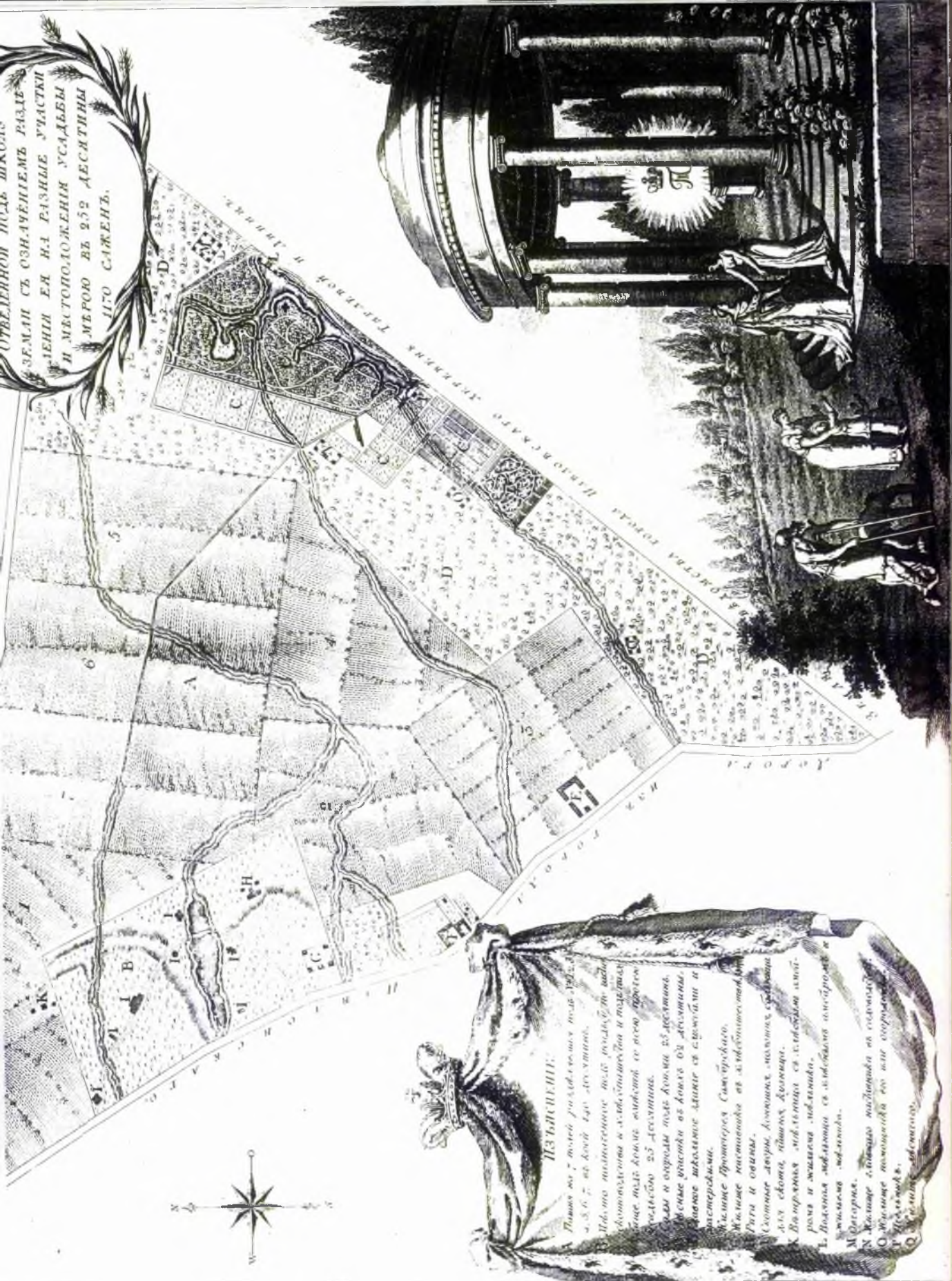
- В Школа земледелия
- С Теплица овощей
- Д Теплица фруктов
- Е Яблоня садовая
- Г Плодовый садик
- Г Садоводство
- И Кухня
- И Оранжерея для растений
- К Садоводство
- Л Оранжерея для растений и садоводства
- М Школа для садоводов
- Н Школа для садоводов
- О Школа для садоводов
- П Теплица для растений и садов



171. Adam Menelaws and Nikolai L'vov. School of Practical Farming and Agriculture in Tiarlevo. Near Pavlovsk. Plan and elevation of the main building.



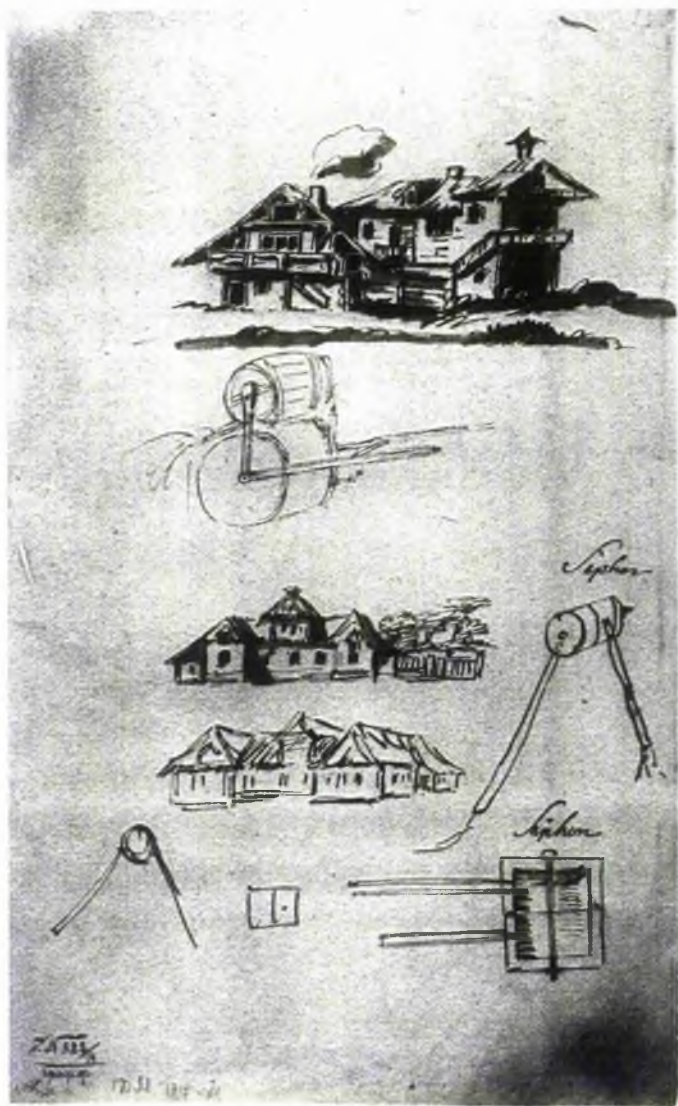
172. Charles Cameron. The Palace at Pavlovsk. 1782-1786.



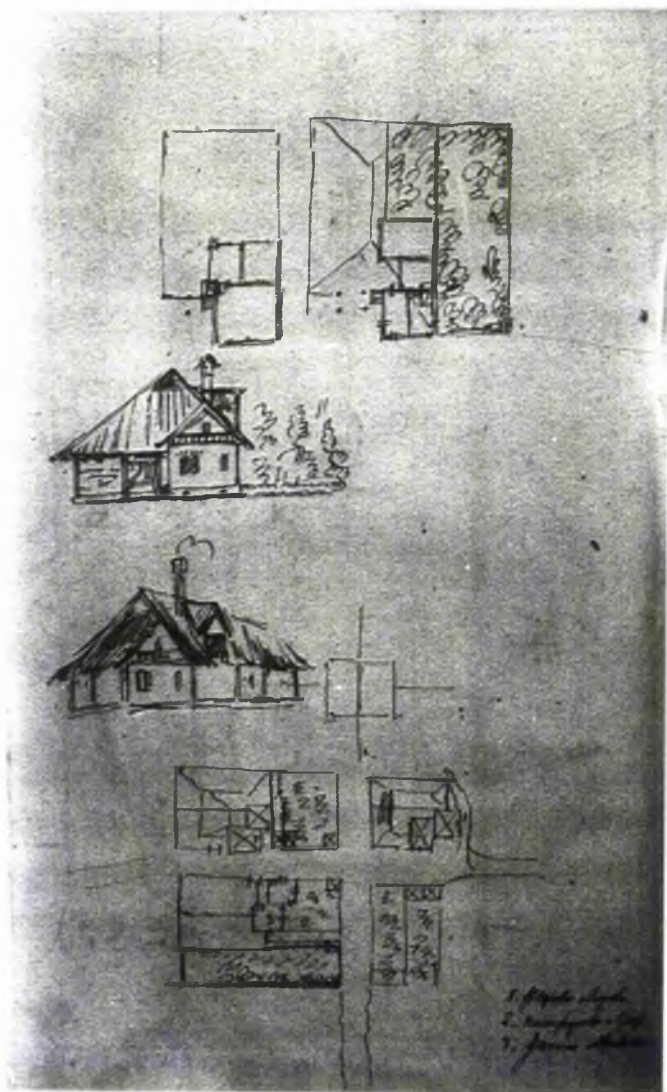
173. The layout of the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture with the depiction of the Empress Maria approaching the altar of Paul I.



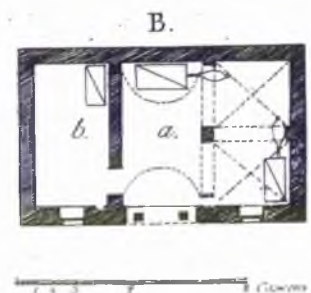
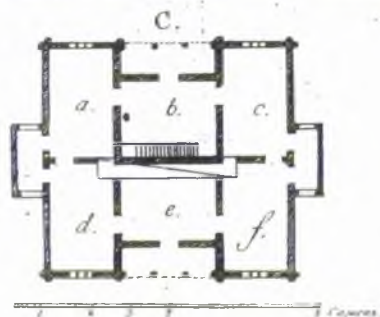
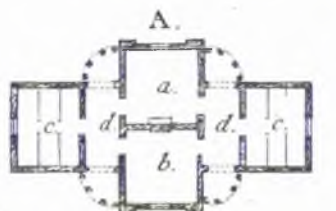
174. Adam Menelaws. Designs for the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture. From left to right: the stables, the peasant's cattle yard, the nobleman's cattle yard, the dairy.



175. Adam Menelaws and Nikolai L'vov. Sketches of farm houses.



176. Adam Menelaws and Nikolai L'vov. Sketches of farm houses.



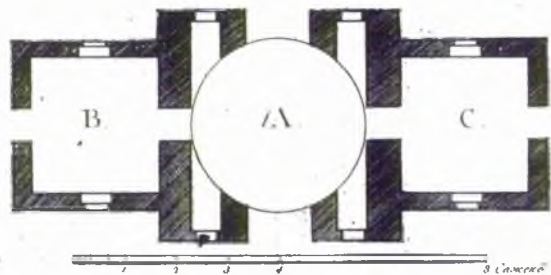
ИЗЪЯСНЕНІЕ ПЛАНА.

А. Больница для скоти, въ коей а. теплой хлѣвъ, б. баня, с. стойлы, д. проходы.
 В. Кузница, въ коей а. кузница, б. мастерская.
 С. Птичья, въ коей а. жилище птицеводы, б. отдѣлъ для гусей, с. для утокъ,
 д. для индюковъ, е. для куръ, ф. для насѣдокъ.

177. Adam Menelaws. Designs for the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture. From left to right: the veterinary clinic, the poultry yard, the smithy.



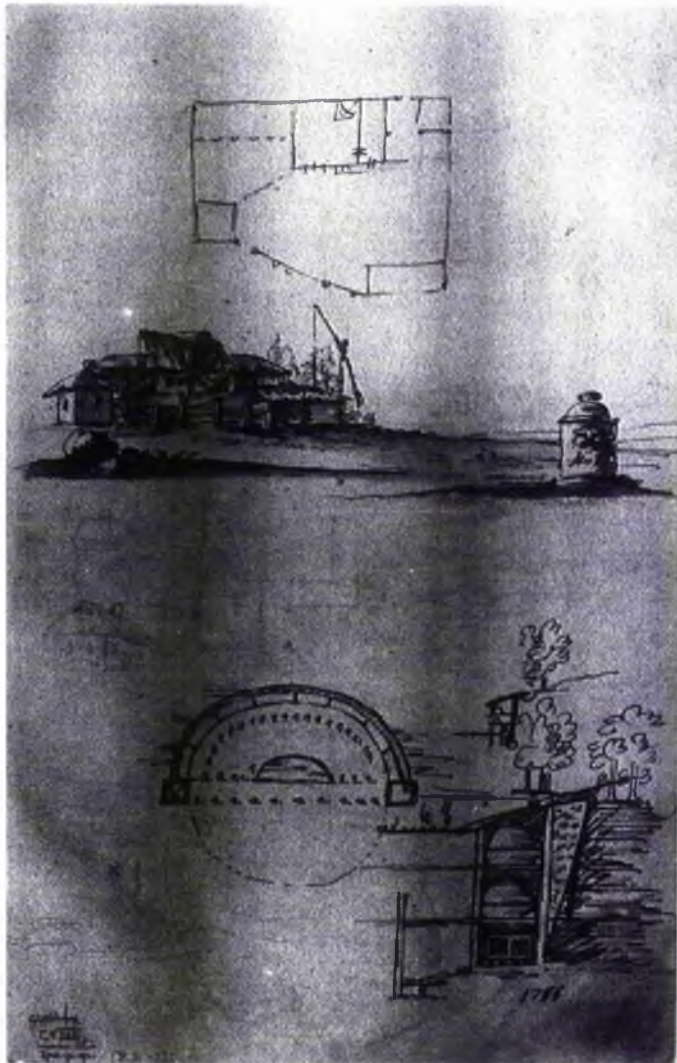
178. Andrea Palladio. The Church of San Giorgio Maggiore. Venice. 1565.



179. Adam Menelaws. Design for the windmill for the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture.



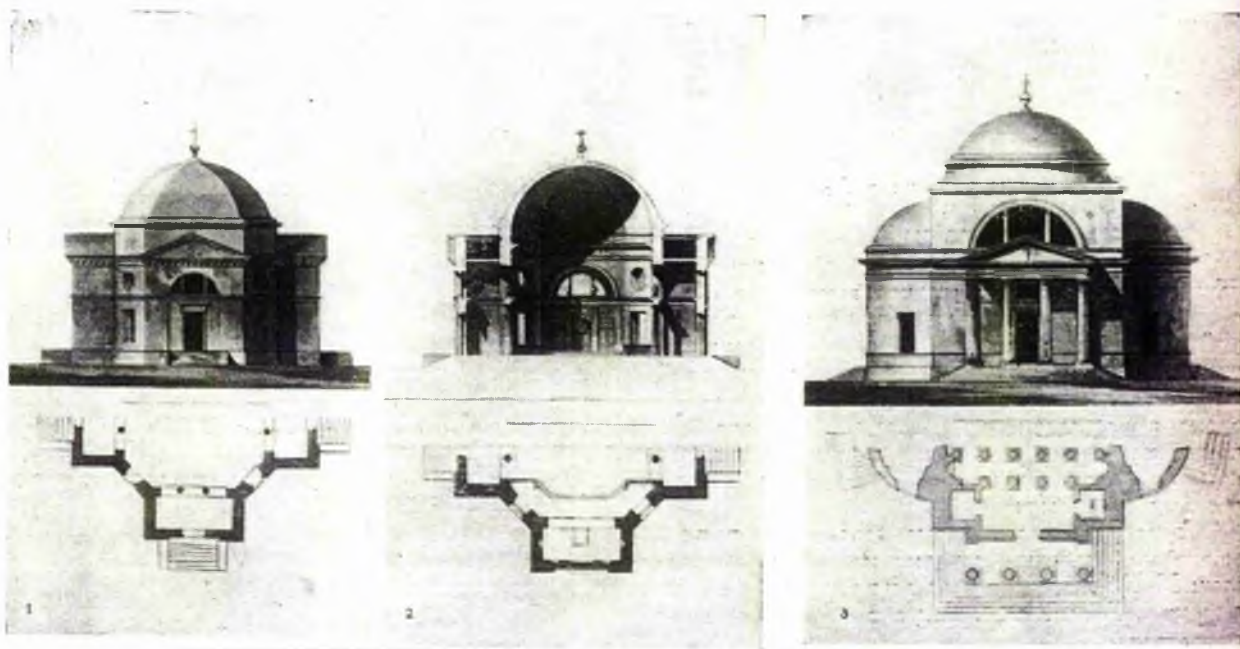
180.Adam Menelaws. Sketch of a farm with a windmill.



181.Adam Menelaws. Sketch of a semicircular farm building.



182. Steading. Kirchiaran, Islay, Argyll. Aerial view.
Second half of the eighteenth century.



183. Nikolai L'vov. Designs for the Churches in Ananiino
(facade elevation, section and plans) and Vyborg
(facade elevation and plan). 1780s.



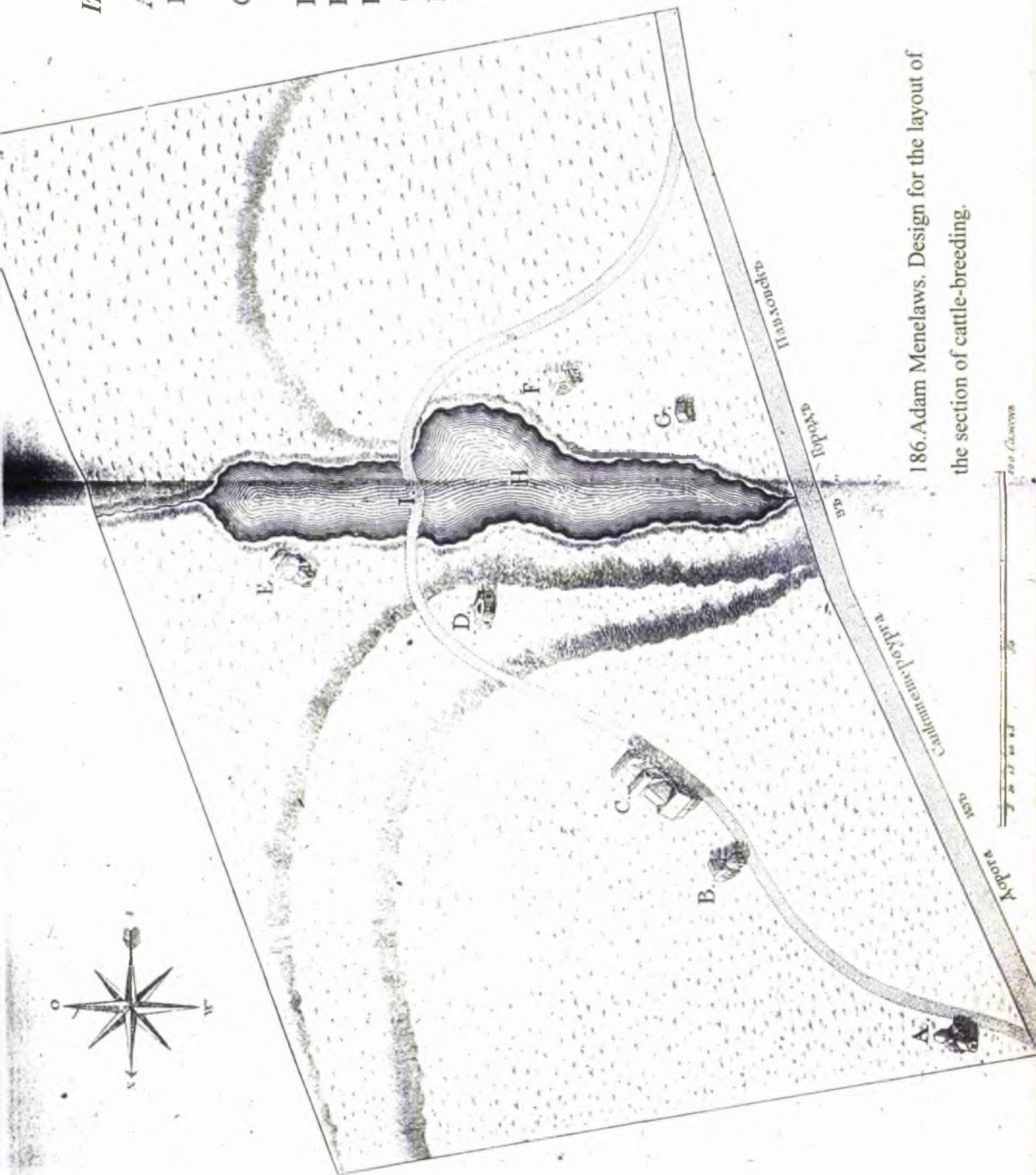
184.Nikolai L'vov. Stables in Mitino. Near Torzhok. 1790s.



185.Nikolai L'vov. The Church in Murino. Near St.Petersburg.
Exterior view. 1786-1790.

ИЗЪЯСНЕНИЕ ПЛАНА

- А. Колодезь.
- В. Крестовской скотовой дворъ.
- С. Дворовскій скотовой дворъ.
- Д. Мокшинецъ.
- Е. Большая для скота.
- Ф. Пашинецъ.
- Г. Козиная.
- Н. Прудъ.
- І. Колодезь.



186. Adam Menclaws. Design for the layout of the section of cattle-breeding.



187. Carlo Rossi. Design for the model village of Glazovo. 1815.



188. Adam Menelaws. School of Earth Construction in Moscow.

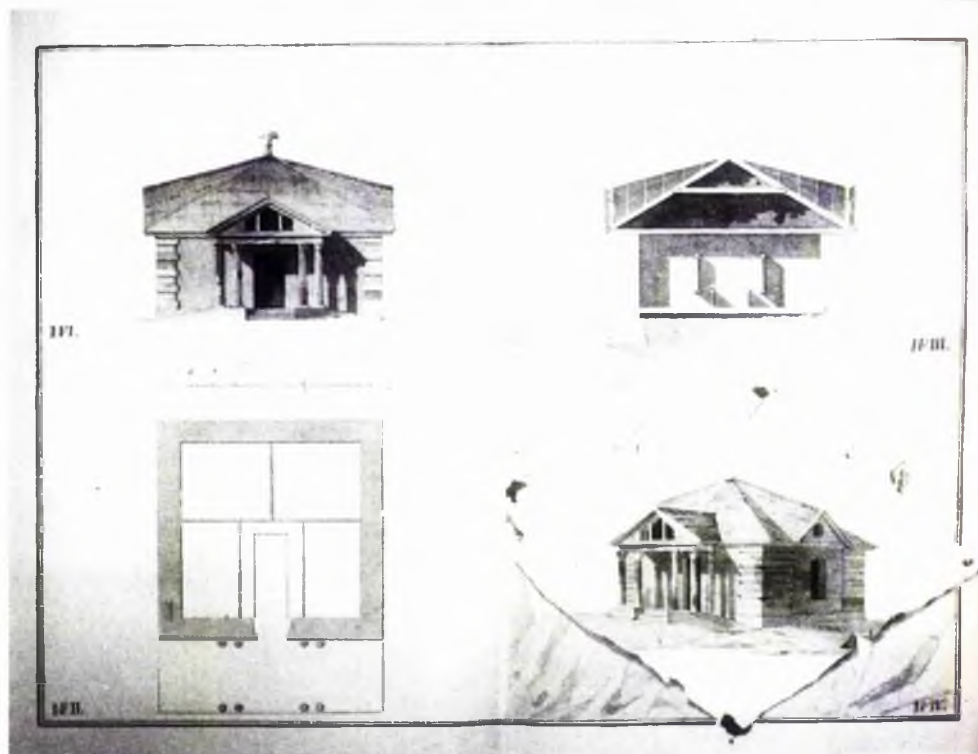
Model cottages. Water-colour. 1799-1802.



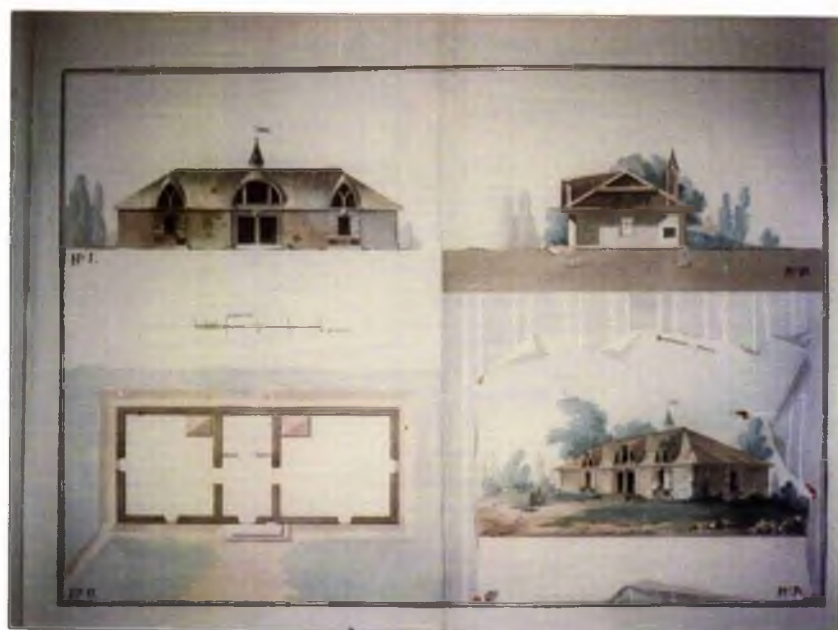
189. Easter Cottage. Charlestown. Near Dunfermline. After 1771.



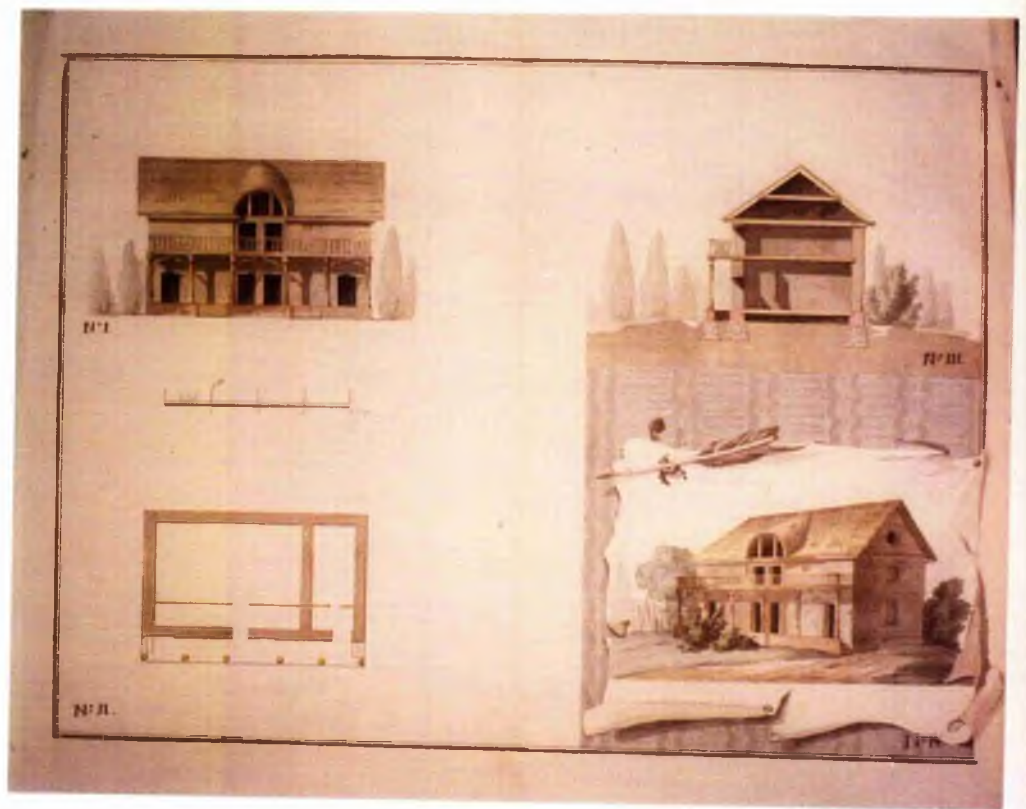
190. Ivan Ivanov. The layout of the School of Earth Construction in Tiukhili. Near Moscow. Drawing.



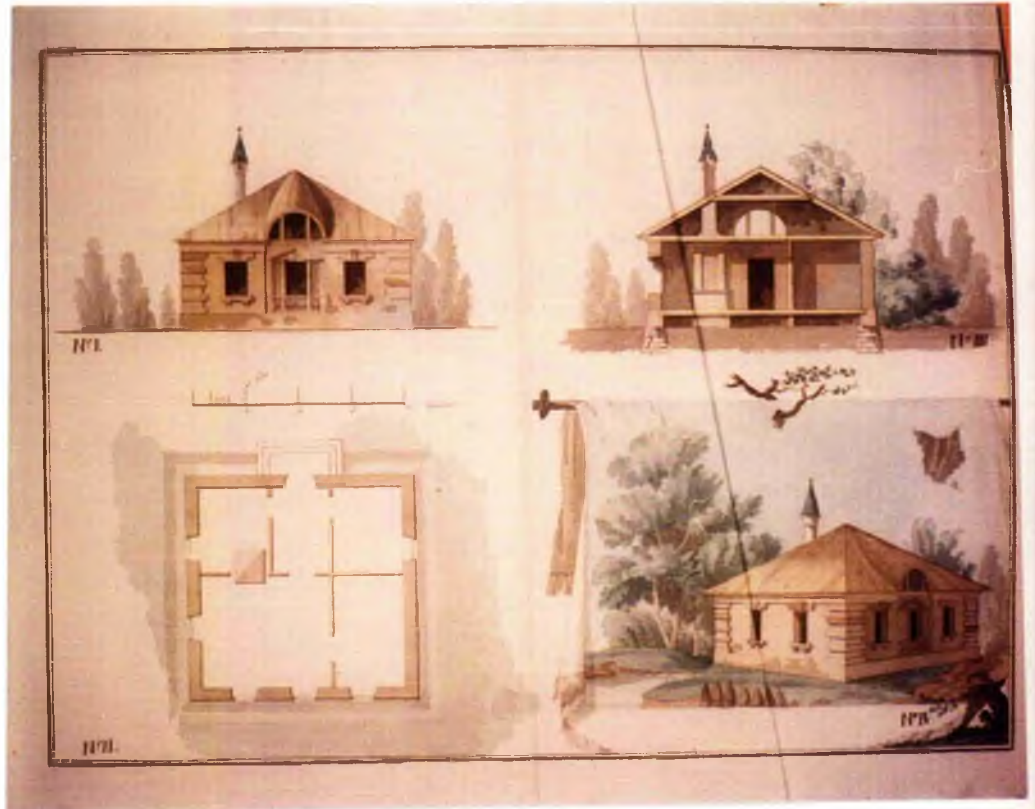
191. Earth barn. Near Tula. Section, perspective view, elevation and plan. 1800. The album of earth buildings, 1801.



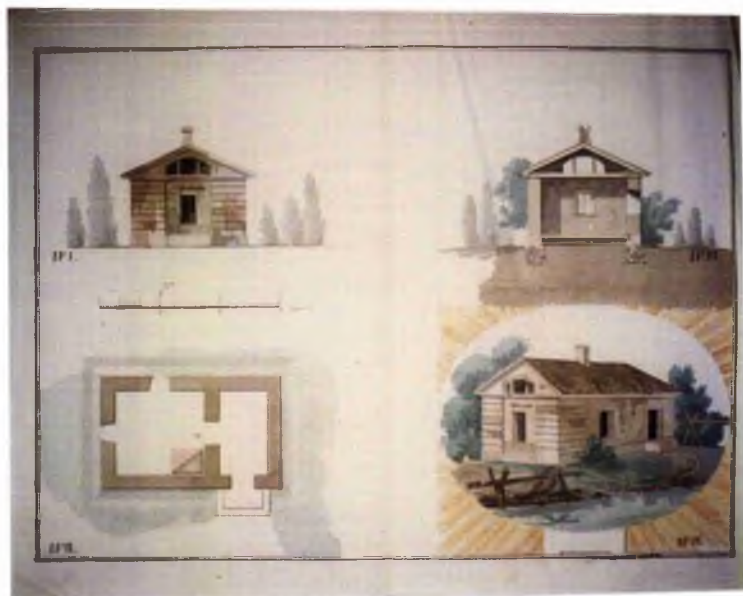
192. Daniil Ryndin. A house for the serfs of the landlord Veliaminov-Zernov built in the village of Vorontsovo in Tver region. Section, perspective view, elevation and plan. 1800.



193. The earth barn in Perm' region. Section, perspective view, elevation and plan. 1800.



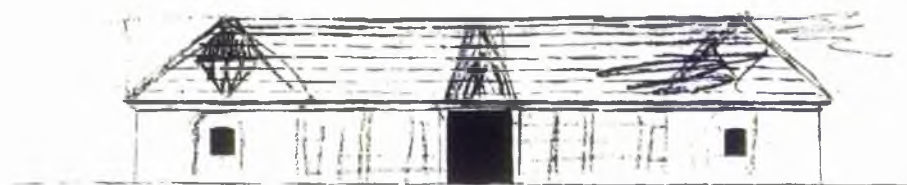
194. The earth dwelling house in Saratov. 1800. Section, perspective view, elevation and plan.



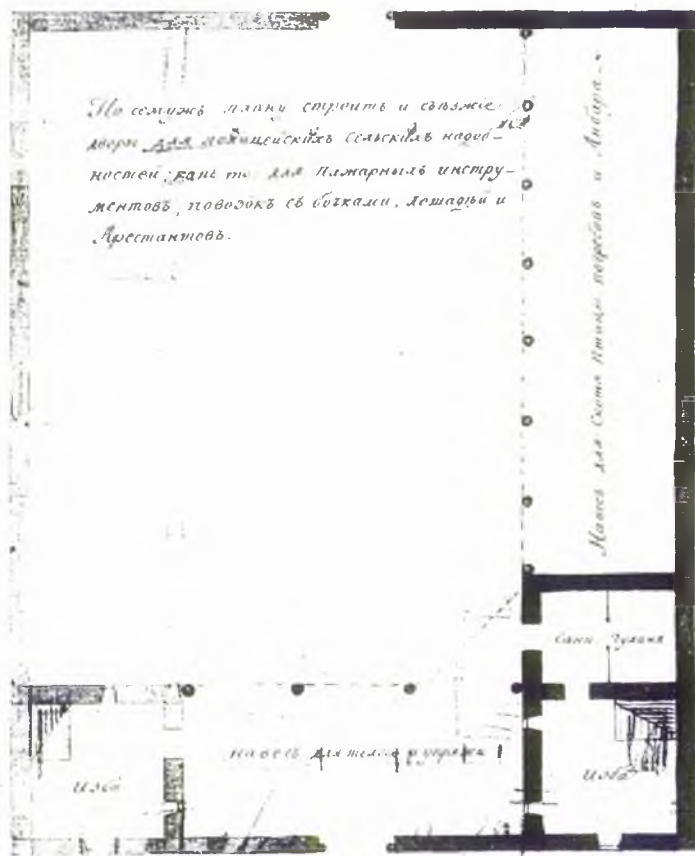
195. The sentry-box in Nizhnii Novgorod. 1800. Section, perspective view, elevation and plan.



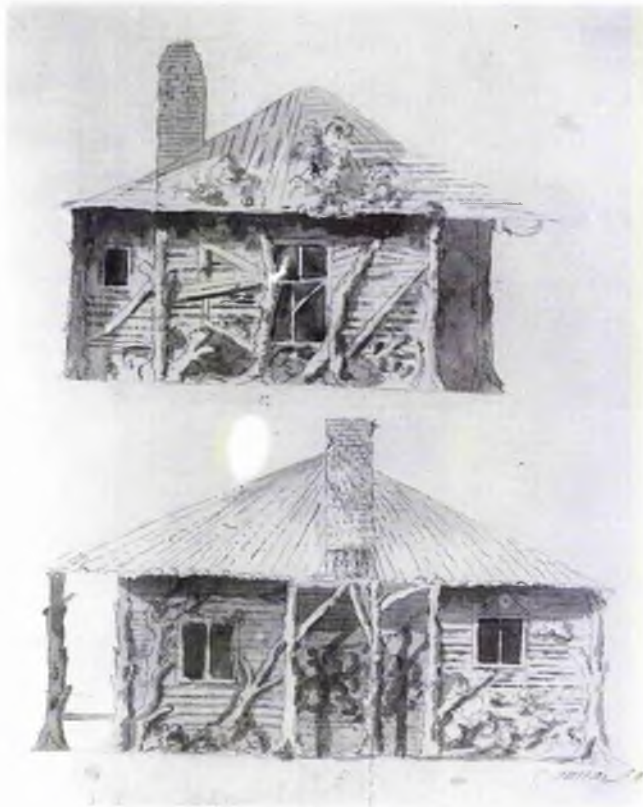
196. Adam Menelaws. Design for the house of the miller for the School of Practical Farming and Agriculture.



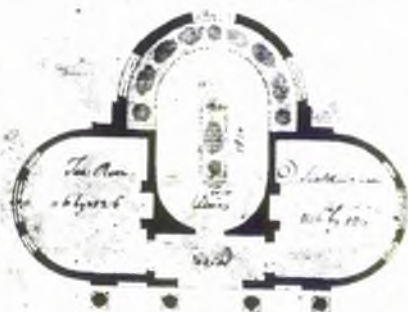
*План и фасад крестьянскому двору битасо изъ
земли стрелецка, Курской губернии, 1801 года Апрель 12*



197. Adam Menclaws and Nikolai L'vov. Design for a farm for
Kursk region. Facade elevation and plan. Ca.1800.



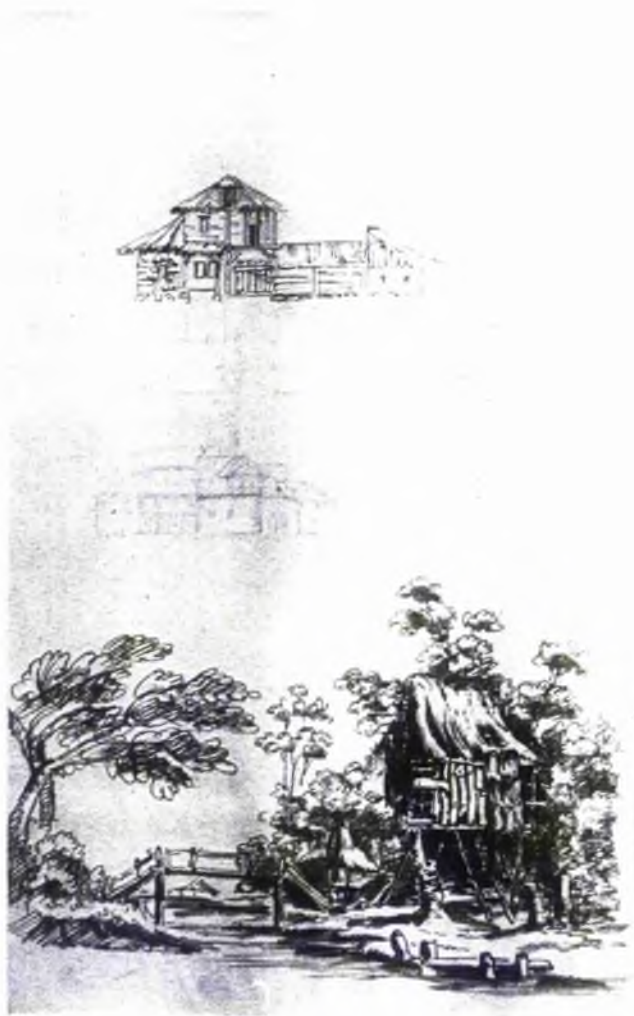
198. Charles Cameron. Preliminary design for the dairy at the park at Pavlovsk. 1782.



199. John Soane. Designs for the dairy in Hammels Park, Hertfordshire, conceived in 1781 and realised in 1783.
Variants of the facade elevation and plan.



200. Abbe Marc-Antoine Laugier. The depiction of the imaginary primeval manmade habitation on the frontispiece of the Essai sur l'architecture, 1755.



201. A drawing of a primitive dwelling. 'The Gatchina album of Nikolai L'vov'.



202. Adam Menelaws. The Palace of Cottage. Peterhof.

Exterior view from the south-west. 1826-29.



203. Andrei Shtakenshneider. East facade of the Farm Palace at the park of Alexandria in Peterhof. 1838-1850s.



204.Andrei Shtakenshneider. The gallery in the south facade of the Farm Palace at the park of Alexandria in Peterhof. 1838-1850s.